

**CONSULTATIONS WITH THE POOR
NATIONAL SYNTHESIS REPORT
SOMALILAND**

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The findings, interpretations, and conclusions expressed here are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the views of the World Bank, its Board of Executive Directors, or the governments they represent.

Preface

This study is part of a global research effort entitled *Consultations with the Poor*, designed to inform the *World Development Report 2000/1 on Poverty and Development*. The research involved poor people in twenty-three countries around the world. The effort also included two comprehensive reviews of Participatory Poverty Assessments completed in recent years by the World Bank and other agencies. Deepa Narayan, Principal Social Development Specialist in the World Bank's Poverty Group, initiated and led the research effort.

The global *Consultations with the Poor* is unique in two respects. It is the first large scale comparative research effort using participatory methods to focus on the voices of the poor. It is also the first time that the World Development Report is drawing on participatory research in a systematic fashion. Much has been learned in this process about how to conduct Participatory Poverty Assessments on a major scale across countries so that they have policy relevance. Findings from the country studies are already being used at the national level, and the methodology developed by the study team is already being adopted by many others.

We want to congratulate the network of 23 country research teams who mobilized at such short notice and completed the studies within six months. We also want to thank Deepa Narayan and her team: Patti Petesch, Consultant, provided overall coordination; Meera Kaul Shah, Consultant, provided methodological guidance; Ulrike Erhardt, provided administrative assistance; and the Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex provided advisory support. More than a hundred colleagues within the World Bank also contributed greatly by identifying and supporting the local research teams.

The study would not have been possible without the generous financial support of the U.K. Department for International Development (DFID), numerous departments within the World Bank, the Swedish International Development Agency, John D. & Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation and several NGOs.

The completion of these studies in a way is just the beginning. We must now ensure that the findings lead to follow-up action to make a difference in the lives of the poor.

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These “Consultations with the Poor” were conducted by thirty-three residents of Sanaag and twenty residents of Togdheer communities. The selection of sites for the survey and their names is as described in the methodology and process section of the regional reports. The following ActionAid-Somaliland staff trained the study teams in participatory methods; facilitated the study process; coached the teams; translated the data and edited the reports:

Sam Joseph (Country Team Leader)

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Executive Summary

Introduction:

The “Consultation with the Poor” study was conducted in two regions (Sanaag & Togdheer) of Somaliland. In each region eight sites were selected for the study and regional synthesis reports were produced separately for each, besides the eight site reports (see attached). This summary report will cover both regions in order to arrive at a country report for Somaliland.

Somaliland, which lies in north-eastern part of the Horn of Africa, seceded from the rest of Somalia in 1991 after a pro-longed civil war which resulted in the collapse of the Barre' regime together with the Somali state. Though the breakaway 'state' has not achieved international recognition, it has distanced itself from the devastating factional fighting in the south of Somalia, managed to negotiate peaceful settlement of disputes among its competing clan groups (largely through traditional systems of governance) and established a functioning government.

The Somali society follows a predominantly nomadic pastoral lifestyle, which is characterised by two salient features:

- (a) seasonal grazing and trade movements associated with territory, and access to pasture and water resources in a harsh semi-arid environment (limited by low and erratic rainfall),
- (b) social structures related to such a lifestyle, which have evolved for the communal management of environmental resources and conflict.

Both of these fundamental characteristics were disrupted by years of predatory, incoherent and centralised government systems (and based on imported, alien models), ecological decline and the cumulative impact of decades of armed conflict.

According to annual UN reports, Somalia/land is one of the poorest countries in the world, with estimated ranking at the bottom of the UNDP Human Development Index (1998) and indicators comparable to a national emergency. Prolonged humanitarian and ongoing political crises, with State collapse predating 1990, form a vicious circle with minimal human development and lack of employment and social services, particularly, in Southern Somalia. However, Somaliland is currently a recovery zone with all the common features associated with emergence of stability and accountable, representative governance.

The main findings and patterns of results from the four main themes

a) Well-being

Definitions:

In the pastoral environment, groups of men and women agreed that “A condition of well-being” is possible when there is *Barwaaqo* or *Nimco*, which translates as “plenty of rainfall and grazing”. This in turn is defined as plenty of food, water and health. Well-being is also

commonly defined as *Fayo-qab*, which means “good condition of health, physical and mental state”.

Nabad iyo Caano, which literally means “peace and milk” refers to the basic needs of security (the absence of violence) and food. This traditional greeting among herders is the first thing they ask each other when they meet on the range lands. Elmi, an old man from Qoyta village in Togdheer), said, “Without 'peace and milk' we can not talk about well-being”.

Cawl iyo abaar, which literally means “war and drought (including famine)”, were stated as the opposite of the above description. Most groups associated this with extreme ill being.

In the urban centres, which have a common background and considerable inter-dependence with the rural population, people share the same basic definitions of well-being with their pastoral relatives. However, the urbanised population (brushed by consumerism) also refer to the value of education and material possession in the quality of life.

People generally define well being or a good quality of life when they have:

- Peace and stability
- Plenty of rainfall in the range lands
- About 200 heads of livestock (sheep, goats and camel)
- Children (who are a great asset in their environment)
- Supportive relatives (needed for mutual defense and support during crisis).
- Good income from business or capital in urban centres

The absence of these is also defined as ill being. However, old people and particularly women add that bad health is a major factor in ill being, while young men usually mention lack of education and ignorance in this regard. Most men also state that “spiritual or religious fulfilment is important in well being”.

Well-being Categories and Criteria:

The respondent groups classified the Sanaag & Togdheer communities into five broad categories:

Somali word	English translation
<i>Ladan (fican)</i>	Doing well
<i>Iska ladan (fican)</i>	Pulling along
<i>Maqadaa ma dhergaan</i>	Facing difficulties (eating irregularly)
<i>Barlaawe or Caydh</i>	Miserable or vagabond
<i>Qaxooti</i>	Refugee

Because of the interdependency of Somali people according to clan and kinship, it was generally difficult to draw a line between these categories. The groups differed widely in their opinions on the relevant category for each family. Their decisions were directed by considerations of age, gender and location.

The main criteria for clustering households into the above categories were:

- number of animals per family,
- diversity of livestock species (sheep, goats, camels and cattle),
- number of dependent people (the more people, the higher criteria),
- having children as work force,
- power (size) of the clan as an insurance body (people were respected according to their clans),
- availability and affordability of public services such as school and health care,
- assets in the urban centres,
- possession of grazing land. Some land is common property and all livestock owners, including the landless, share pasture in these common grazing areas during the wet season, while the landed return to their reserved, enclosed pasture in the dry season,
- possession of a farm. A few irrigated farms produce vegetables and fruit as cash crops,
- food availability,
- security, people said, "Where there is no security there is no good life",
- support from relatives and the community at large,
- source of income; business, capital assets or employment.

Aggregations of the criteria of the various well-being/ill-being categories identified by groups of men, women and youth in six rural villages in Togdheer, suggested the following observations which were later validated with the groups:

- Security (which in this case, refers to absence of violent conflict) is the main criterion of well-being (1st category) for men, while for women it turns out to be a "life with a solid base", which is defined in terms of material possession.
- For old men, good health appears to be the main factor for a good quality of life, while for young men security remains the criterion with most frequency.

- In the ill being category men and young women stated lack of shelter most often, while older women indicated lack of food.
- Overall, the aggregated data indicates security and material possession as main indicators of well being, while lack of shelter and food are the main criteria for ill-being.
- However, the most frequent indicator in the poor category is the lack of kinship support.
- According to most groups the highest percentage of households or individuals in these rural sites are in the “poor” and “eating irregularly” categories, both now and in the past.

The proportion of households in the different categories had changed over the last 15 years as a result of the pro-longed civil war and collapse of central government - more people became poorer. Somalia has remained a state without central administration since January 1991. Lack of legal protection for exported Somali livestock and its later total ban by importing countries like Saudi Arabia had a most deleterious effect on peoples’ economies. It reduced people from upper to lower categories. Other causes include population increase, absence of public services, recurrent droughts and increased illiteracy in the absence of education opportunities. 15 years ago the “refugee – displaced” category did not exist according to the participants. However, one of the major causes of poverty in many, especially urban families, is the daily chewing of Khat (succulent leaves of *Catha edulis* spp.). One chewing session could cost around US\$10. This is far in excess of most families' incomes. The Marawade, Sanaag group identified the lack of economic diversity for households and the under exploitation of marine resources.

The causes and impacts of poverty

The following causes of poverty cut across all groups in all rural and urban sites:

- Civil conflict
- Lack of rainfall
- Range land degradation
- Collapse of government, bad governance, Clanism
- Lack of markets and poor terms of trade for livestock
- 'Khat' chewing
- Lack of skills
- Unemployment

The main impacts of this increased poverty were:

- migration to other countries especially by educated people,
- killing, road blocks, theft,
- people moving from rural areas to urban centres,
- environmental destruction (cutting trees for charcoal and grass for fodder for sale to livestock exporters),
- public services are not taken care of; lack of education and poor health
- bad cultures introduced,
- exclusion of people according to their economic status,
- women have accepted the role of feeding families from petty trade and livestock management.

b) Problems and priorities of the poor

The major problems stated by all groups or the majority in the rural sites were:

- lack of education for children,
- lack of proper human health care,
- lack of markets for livestock and other local products like Frankincense,
- unemployment,
- water shortage,
- insecure family income,
- rangeland degradation/soil erosion,
- bad governments and recurrent conflict.

The list was long but these are the ones cutting across the sites and the groups. Human health care turned out as a major concern for older people, while education featured as an important concern for young people.

The major problems stated by all groups or the majority in the urban sites were:

- lack of human medicines,
- lack of education opportunities and unemployment cut across all groups,

Other concerns included:

- insecure income,
- social exclusion,
- poor shelter,
- security (law and order).

People in Sanaag region (a remote and mountainous region) reported poor communication and dusty roads, while water shortage was a particular concern for the urban people in Togdheer, where most infrastructure was destroyed during the conflict.

In general, older people stated lack of investment as their major concern, and defined this as the lack of funds for rehabilitating infrastructure (hospital, schools, etc) and economic revival. For young people education remains a major concern.

Participants asserted that most of these problems had always been present in their country. However, these problems have been exacerbated by prolonged civil conflicts and the long absence of a central administration. The latter had assumed responsibility for security and resource mobilisation. Natural (such as droughts) and man made (such as misrule and conflict) calamities were described as the root causes of most of the socio-economic instabilities.

c) Institutions

The study revealed no major differences between the institutions of importance to urban or rural people. This is explained by the close social and economic (as well as, political) relationship between the rural and urban people. Many families have members in both places. Participants noted that urban centres are actually nothing more than trading centres for rural people. They added that for the last 15 years there has been an unprecedented intermingling and exchange between the groups, due to the atmosphere created by conflict.

The majority of respondents agreed the two most important institutions in their lives are the kinship system and the Elders council (traditional system of governance). For women the kinship system comes constantly first, while for men, particularly old men, the Elders Council is usually first. However, all groups agree these two institutions come as first and second.

The kinship support system is fundamental to Somali clan organisation. Members of the same sub-clan pledge to support each other in the face of an enemy or attack by other groups and to share the cost of any compensation claimed against one of their members. Cherished for centuries, the clan system is called upon for virtually all aspects of commercial, political and social organisation, and provides a clear organisational structure to manage daily community life. This collective action is usually extended to include support for members during difficulties or need.

The traditional elders' council is a clan-based institution responsible for conflict management and political governance at various levels. This system assumed a more significant role after the collapse of the state. Marital, legal, property, family, and commercial disputes within the village (or town) come before the Council of Elders. In rural areas, allocation of grazing rights, protection of stock, maintenance of civil order within the sub-clan territory, and organisation of commercial exchanges (especially livestock trading) are Council duties.

All groups agree that the traditional system of governance, represented by the Elders council has been solely responsible for bringing about peace among warring clans and maintaining the stability that is now evident. They agree both of these institutions perform the primary response to any political or economic crisis facing the community and serve as the most important of coping mechanisms.

However, for women, credit associations, business networks and NGOs are prominent institutions. Many women are members of traditional credit system called "*Hagbad*". All say it is their primary source of quick cash during a personal crisis. There are no formal credit systems or banks operating in the region. They also referred to relief programmes by international aid agencies such as ICRC or UNHCR.

The other significant institutions reported by the participants include religious leaders or the Mosque, overseas remittances, youth associations and relationships through marriage (in-laws).

It is important to note that the government was almost always lowest in groups' ranking of institutions. This reflects the collapse of the State of Somalia and weakness of the current government in Hargeisa, which does not have significant presence in the eastern regions of the country (that includes the study areas of Sanaag & Togdheer).

The list of institutions does not include schools, hospitals, veterinarians, forestry departments or any other social services associated with the formal government system.

d) Gender relations

The roles and responsibilities of men and women have changed little over the past 15 years, especially in the rural life where these are well defined by culture and beliefs.

In the urban areas (including small rural villages), women have been transformed into the household breadwinners through their engagement in petty trading. This was possible because they were able to cross clan territories during the prolonged conflict period, while men were restricted to their clan areas. Employment opportunities for men have been reduced to zero. Many people criticise this change. They argue that women earning food for the family are no longer loyal to their husbands, which results in the break down of many families. Childcare was said to have declined because mothers go out to work or business resulting in more indiscipline among children.

In the opinion of some women, their increased earning power improved their decision-making capacity within both the household and the community. Now they are consulted or make final decisions about how family assets are used (since they earned them), what to buy for their children, where to send them to school. Their increased mobility has also given them more freedom of movement and exposure to useful social experiences.

However, this has not been translated into any major changes in the traditional household power relations. Men still make decisions in the crucial areas of marriage and divorce, inheritance, political and major economic concerns and relationships with other communities and government.

All groups agreed there was no significant increase in violence against women either in the household or community at large. They mentioned disputes within the family related to men marrying more than one wife. There is also no (social) difference within women groups as far as gender relations are concerned, though household income might create economic status difference.

Conclusions

The economic backbone of the people of Somaliland (the majority of whom are pastoral nomads) is the rearing of livestock (sheep, goats, camels and cattle) in a harsh environment with an average rainfall of 100 - 300mm per annum, which is unpredictable both spatially and temporally. Long term disruption of water sources and range land management by government misrule, conflict and drought have affected residents' coping strategies in the dry season and decreased peoples' overall quality of life. The loss of livestock by poor pastoralists contributes to urban migration with little prospects for employment. The external market for livestock was never reliable (with poor terms of trade) but a recognised government gave it some security in the past. In the absence of such government this security has been lost. Further trade difficulties relate to the 1998 ban on Somali livestock imposed by the Saudi Arabian government citing Rift Valley Fever (RVF) as their reason.

Some families can irrigate farms from springs to grow cash crops such as vegetables (onions, lettuce, tomatoes and potatoes) and fruit (lemons, guava, pomegranates etc). However, an escalating trend in changing resource use is causing environmental degradation in the important rangelands. Pastoral people without sufficient livestock to support their basic needs have been forced to survive by fencing off land and selling firewood and charcoal. Agro-pastoral people and farmers have taken over former communal grazing lands for agriculture.

Most problems were caused by harsh climate, prolonged conflict, the absence of a legitimate administration and unreliable markets. The livestock market was particularly unreliable, yet it is this market on which pastoral families depend.

Somali society is divided into clans on a patri-lineal basis. Traditional governance was the only system to survive the collapse of central government. *Guurti* (council of men elders) is the highest forum chaired by the *Sultan* (clan chief) and *Nabadoon* (sub-clan chief). These traditional leaders were relatively successful in resolving conflicts between the clans in Somaliland and convincing them to co-operate in a shared 'government'. However, they have a long way to go in creating a system that can deal with all the economic, social, political and environmental factors that underlie the deteriorating quality of life for the majority of the people.

TOGDHEER SYNTHESIS REPORT

2. BACKGROUND

The “Consultations with the Poor” Study was conducted at 9 sites in Togdheer region and one site in Hargeisa, the capital of Somaliland. Seven of the nine sites in Togdheer were in rural villages, including an interview with a rural poor family at Kaba-dheere village, the other two locations were urban (Buroa town and Yirowe). The Hargeisa town study was also an interview with a poor family in the slum area.

Togdheer Study Schedule

Dates	Itinerary
1 – 7th March	Study team identification and selection
10 – 20th March	1 st Team training
16 - 18th March	Pilot study
21 – 25 th March	2 nd Team training
28 th March - 12th April	Field Study
	Site Synthesis report

Team Formation and Preparation Process

The Togdheer field study team was selected from members of the Togdheer Community Based Organisation (TCBO) and other local NGOs in the region. All team members were engaged in various community development activities and most had some experience in participatory research. The whole team, totaling 20 (11 men and 9 women) received two weeks of training on participatory methodologies and particularly on the tools used in the Consultation With the Poor study.

After the 2nd week of training and orientation the team undertook a two-day pilot exercise in rural village near Buroa town. On re-convening the pilot exercise experiences were discussed and clarifications and improvements were made. The team agreed the exchange of personal experiences had increased their understanding of the issues and overall confidence in the Consultation.

During the main field study, the team divided into five teams of four members and each conducted a study on two sites, spending an average of four days at each site. Each team had two male and two female members. There was usually a female member during consultations with the male groups, but only the female team members consulted with the female groups particularly on the gender theme. This was mostly due to cultural dimensions of the community. One member was assigned to preparing the social map, cards for cause-impact analysis and collating all the notes and visual outputs. The team leader for each site was responsible for facilitating every study team member at the time of the field study and liaison with the site or village committee.

Village (Site) Selection Process

During site selection all participants agreed that in terms of poverty or need and quality of life there was no significant difference between the rural range lands of Togdheer region. However, team members come from different parts of region and conducted their analysis of the region based on natural resources.

They identified five sub-units:

1. Area with more vegetable gardens
2. Area with more rain-fed farms
3. Area with more seasonal waterways
4. Rangelands with water-tanks (Berkeds) only
5. Rangelands with shallow wells only

They conducted a preference scoring of the five areas, comparing each sub-unit with the others. This produced indicators or criteria such water availability, soil quality, grazing, social services, concentration of various types of livestock. This provided comparative values of the different areas and made it possible to identify the relatively poorer sub-units. The team agreed to select sites from those areas, which were low on development type scores. Though they generally concluded that all sub-units of the region were equally 'poor', the analysis established that the rangelands with water-tanks only and the areas with seasonal waterways were low in development type scores, therefore most of the selected villages (though not all) come from these sub-units.

Field Exercise Process

Each team leader was responsible for establishing contact with the village or site committee, elders or headman. It was agreed that at least one respected person from that village should accompany the team to perform the initial introductions, even though most of the team members were not strangers in these villages.

When the teams arrived at the site they requested a meeting with the village elders to explain the purpose of their visit and objectives of their mission. Individual members would also visit the public places i.e teashops, mosque and grocery stores to establish rapport with the community and familiarise themselves with the community. The first morning of the visit was generally spent in getting acquainted.

The meeting with the elders provided the background of the village and primary information about its people and their livelihoods. This meeting also produced suggestions for the possible times and places to meet with various community groups. Pastoral families attend to their daily chores in the early part of the day if not all day long. These include looking after livestock or attending their rain-fed farms. It was usually possible to meet with elderly women in the mornings. However, most of the meetings took place in the afternoons and evenings. After initial introductions all teams reported pastoral people were easy to get along with and their famous hospitality was evident throughout their stay in the village.

At the end of each day, the team sat together to analyse the day's activity and study findings. Strategies for the next day were also discussed and planned.

In order to learn more about the community and improve their acceptance by the community, study team members participated in the community activities, such as, watering livestock or collecting wild berries. They have also attended social functions like marriage sermons (they were expected to in pastoralist culture), and evening prayers in the mosque.

Description of Study Sites

A. Rural Sites

The rural study sites are broadly divided into purely pastoral villages (namely, Cali Cise, Durukhsi and Yucub yabooh) and agro-pastoral villages (namely, Qoyta, Haqayo-malase and Ceel-bilcile). However, the general environment is typically semi-arid with vegetation consisting of course grasses, drought resistant thorn trees (Acacia) and annual grasses. Relatively nutritious (for livestock) species are limited by the rains, which fall erratically twice a year. Seasonal rains may completely fail in this environment, resulting occasionally in catastrophic droughts.

While the pastoral villages lie in the flat plateau of the Haud, the agro-pastoral areas are closer to the northern escarpment and are usually located along the banks of seasonal water-ways, which provide water from shallow hand-dug wells. Both the quality of soil and spread of rainfall (more rainy days, not necessarily more rain) during the year, made it possible for these areas to practice some rain-fed farming to produce fodder and some grains. The main water sources of the pastoral areas are Berkeds (reservoirs).

There are more camel and sheep in the pastoral villages, while the agro-pastoral people raise more goats and cattle. Some agro-pastoral villages (i.e Qoyta) produce vegetables (tomatoes, salads, pepper etc) during the main rainy season, which they sell in the nearby urban centers.

B. Urban Sites

The two urban sites of Buroa and Yirowe are actually twin towns, which are 15km apart. Yirowe was a creation of the conflict and comprises of 70 000 internally displaced people who fled from Buroa during the worst conflict period of 1994. Buroa, which is the capital of Togdheer region, has a population of about 90,000 people. The people of Yirowe are now slowly returning to their homes in Buroa.

Both towns serve as commercial centers for a large livestock producing pastoral hinterland, which is a semi-arid plateau south of the Gollis mountain range. The vegetation comprises mostly course grasses and drought resistant thorn trees, where sheep, goats and camel are raised in a nomadic pastoral mode of production.

Buroa town lies along the banks of the Togdheer seasonal waterway, while Yirowe is located 15 km to the east along the ‘Chinese road’.

Table 2.1: Number of Discussion Groups at the Study Sites

Site	Poor			
	Men	Women	Youth	Sub-total
Rural sites:				
Qoyta	1	1	2	4
Ali-Esse	1	1	1	3
Duruqsi	1	1	1	3
Yo’ub-Yabooh	1	1	1	3
Haqayo Malaas	1	1	2	4
Eil-bil-ille	1	1	2	4
Urban sites:				
Burao	1	1	2	4
Yirowe	1	1	2	4
Total	8	8	13	29

Table 2.2: Number of individual case studies at the study sites

Site	Poor			
Rural Sites	Men	Women	Youth	Sub-total
Qoyta	1	1	1	3
Ali-Esse	1	1	2	4
Duruqsi	1	1	1	3
Yo'ub-Yabooh	1	1	1	3
Haqayo Malaas	2	1	2	5
Eil-bil-ille	1	1	1	3
Urban Sites				
Burao	1	1	1	3
Yarowe	1	1	1	3
Total	9	8	10	17

3. PERCEPTIONS OF POVERTY: WELL-BEING DEFINITIONS AND TRENDS

Well-being

A. Rural Sites

- Local Terminology and Definitions

In the rural pastoralist environment the following terminology and definitions are used in describing well-being:

<i>Somali word</i>	English translation
<i>Ladnan / Aad u fican/Dhereg</i>	Doing well
<i>Xoolo/Addunyo</i>	Riches (in livestock)
<i>Iska ladan/fican</i>	Doing ok
<i>Barakac</i>	Displaced
<i>Qaxooti</i>	Refugee
<i>Abaar</i>	Drought
<i>Caydh</i>	Lost all livestock or capital
<i>Sabool/Faqir/liita/maskin</i>	Poor/Doing badly
<i>Si xun/heer hoose</i>	Poorly
<i>Tayo daran</i>	Lack of ability
<i>Jirran</i>	Sick
<i>Xaaluf De-afforestation</i>	Desertification

Definitions

Groups of both men and women agreed that ‘a condition of well-being is possible when there is *Barwaaqo* or *Nimco*’ and well-being is commonly defined as *Fayo-qab*:

Barwaaqo/Nimco: translates as ‘plenty in terms of rainfall and grazing’. This in turn is defined as plenty of food, water and health.

Faya-qab: good condition of health, physical and mental state.

A group of elderly men in Qoyta said, ‘*Marka nabadgelyo la helo ayaa nolol wanaagsan jirta*’, meaning, “When there is no violent conflict in the area, good living is possible”. Also ‘*Marka roobku da’o*’, meaning, “When the rains come and there is no more drought, people can enjoy life.”

Nabad iyo Caano, which literally means ‘peace and milk’ refers to the basic needs of security (the absence of violence) and food. This traditional greeting among herders is the first thing they ask each other when they meet in the rangelands. One of the old men, Elmi, said, “Without ‘peace and milk’ we can not talk about well-being”.

Cawl iyo abaar, which literally means ‘war and drought (including famine)’, were stated as the opposite of the above description. Most groups associated this with extreme ill being.

According to most villagers the annual rainfall determines the quality of life of all pastoral families for that year at least. The range lands and their products, mainly livestock on which the livelihood of the herders is based, all depend on the rains. The other important factor is peace and stability, which is also a commonly occurring theme in defining well-being and indicates Somali society's recent experience of conflict and its effects on people's lives. Women in rural areas showed a lot of concern about uncertainty and the following definition from a group of them in Qoyta village reveals that sentiment, "A life, which has a strong foundation and permanence, has no problems or worries". Most men state, "Spiritual or religious fulfillment is important in well being".

The rural pastoral people generally define well being or good quality of life when they have:

- Peace and stability
- Plenty of rainfall in the range lands
- About 200 heads of livestock (sheep, goats and camel)
- Children (who are a great asset in their environment)
- Supportive relatives (needed for mutual defense and support during crisis).

The absence of these is also defined as ill being. However, old people and particularly women add that bad health is a major factor in ill being, while young men usually mention lack of education and ignorance in this regard.

Well being Categories, Criteria and Proportion of Households

Almost all groups of men and women in rural sites classified their communities into five categories:

1. Doing well (*Iska ladan*),
2. Doing Ok (*Ladan*),
3. Poor (*Lita*),
4. Eat irregularly (*Ma-qada-ma-dhergaan*)
5. Vagabond (*Barlawe*).

Villages in the agro-pastoral areas added a category of Refugees/Displaced (*Bara-kac*) and some pastoral villages reported a category called Squanderer (*Hanti-gembe*), though not significant in number.

Along with the names of each category, every group (at each site) provided their own criteria to define the categories. At each site the facilitators performed triangulations by sharing results from analysis carried out by one group with another group, usually of different gender, to verify the analysis. The following outcomes of the analysis of results have also been validated with the communities.

Our team aggregated the criteria of the well being and ill being categories identified by groups of poor men, women and youth in six rural villages. The following list of observations and questions were discussed by the team they were taken back to the communities to conduct relevance testing and validation with the communities. The exercise confirmed the deductions. Possible reasons for these were also obtained from the communities:

- The aggregations indicate that security (which in this case, refers to absence of violent conflict) is main criteria of well-being (1st category) for men, while for women it turns out to be a 'life with a solid base, which is defined in terms of material possession.
- For old men, good health appears to be the main factor for a good quality of life, while for young-men security remains the criteria with most frequency.

- In the ill being category men and young women stated lack of shelter most often, while older-women indicated lack of food.
- Overall, the aggregated data indicates security and material possession as main indicators of well being, while lack of shelter and food are the main criteria for ill-being.
- However, the most frequent indicator in the poor category is the lack of kinship support.
- According to most groups the highest percentage of households or individuals in these rural sites are in the poor and eating irregularly categories, both now and in the past.

Doing well (*ladan*): All groups, across rural sites, identified families belonging to this category are happy families. Men from all sites stated the main indicators for this category are security (meaning lack of conflict), good health, presence of children and food security (large number of livestock and other properties), while women listed, food security, physical security, lack of worries and good health. The primary indicator for old men was health; security for young men and food security for all groups of women.

Other indicators by old men include “having community respect” and being married. Young-men added education as a significant factor. Old women had other indicators including access to credit and support from relatives. Young women stated education and employment as other indicators.

The most common criteria for ‘Doing well’, which have been validated with communities, include all of the above.

These findings confirm the importance of security to the Togdheer community, which has suffered prolonged conflict. Men are more concerned with security because they are the primary actors and targets during conflict. Women’s concern with food security and sustainable income results from their role as bread winners for the household while men were involved in conflict. Old people, particularly old men have suffered from ill health in the long absence of medical services (younger people are much stronger). Another reason stated by some old men was their current pre-occupation with rehabilitating the regional hospital, which was destroyed in the war.

Young people recognised opportunities lost during the long war and explains their concern for education.

Doing OK (*Iska ladan*): This category was described as an individual or household that can meet their basic needs for food, water, health etc. They may own a small business or 200 head of livestock, have supportive children, shelter and security. Women added that children go school, while old men said the head of the household (generally a man) is a community leader. Another significant indicator is support from relatives.

In a rural pastoral environment, which is vulnerable to the vagaries of the weather, the ownership of livestock alone does not guarantee a secure livelihood. This means that families should have other sources of income and support in order to spread their risks. Groups explained some of the strategies employed by families doing OK included investing in school education for a child, investments in kinship relationships or running a business of selling water from a water reservoir.

Poor (*Sabool*): This category was characterised by all groups of men and women from all sites as a household that needs support, which is defined in this context as support from relatives and neighbors. This clearly indicates the significance of support from relatives in this society. This observation is further strengthened by the fact that this category is scored the most numerous of households by all groups.

The 2nd most common criterion for this category is that this household owns just enough livestock to feed their children. It was generally agreed the minimum number of livestock necessary for a household to survive in a nomadic pastoral environment was 70 heads of sheep or goats and a camel or donkey for transport. Other indicators for this category include; have no skills, no home and no employment. Men and women added this family has children, though they do not go to school. Young groups added lack of water for people and livestock as an important factor.

Eat irregularly (*Qada-madhergan*): This category is closely defined as another type of poor household or individual. The most common criteria are that such a family or individual ‘eats irregularly’, which is basically defined as eating every other meal or, as stated by one group of women, ‘Does not go completely hungry or full’.

Other most common criteria include, using physical labour to earn a living, have no livestock or capital, which all add up to the inability to meet basic needs and lack of food security.

These households are further characterised by being female headed, whereby the mother runs a small teashop in the village or skins slaughtered animals and the father, if present, sells his labour for occasional odd jobs such as digging water reservoirs or as a coolie in construction work.

Vagabond (*Barlawe*): This category is defined by all groups as a destitute individual or family with no livestock, home, or skills, no food reserve or children. Most significantly this category has no support from relatives. Poor health is another description for this category.

Though this category is not a very significant percentage of households when compared to other categories, it implies that traditional coping mechanisms in rural areas are declining due to increased poverty.

In the nomadic pastoral environment rainfall and productivity of the range lands (grazing and livestock) determine households’ quality of life. In the years of rainfall failure herders suffer no matter how many livestock or children they own. In such a situation, every family needs support from relatives and neighbours, including the well-off.

The most decisive factors relating to positions on the “well being – to – ill being’ scale in the pastoral livelihood are the number of livestock or capital (indicating food security), children and support from relatives (indicating security or deterrence to violence), good health, credit worthiness (implying community respect) and skills. Families in the “Doing well” and “Doing OK” categories their livestock or capital enables them to afford such critical needs as water. They might actually own water reservoirs.

Households in the lowest categories (of “ill being” and “poverty”) are characterised by the absence of livestock or capital, children, support from relatives, lack of education and bad health.

Extreme poverty is connected with being a refugee or internally displaced, which is a category related to conflict and it’s negative outcomes.

Almost all groups of men and women in the rural study sites put households in their villages in the following ratios:

- 65-75% = ‘poor’ (*Sabool*) and ‘Eats irregularly’ (*Magada-ma-dhergaan*) categories in combination
- 8% = ‘Doing-well’ category
- 17-27% = ‘very poor’ and ‘refugees/displaced’

Changes in Well-being Categories, Criteria, and Proportions of Households

Everyone said the ‘refugee/displaced’ category did not exist 15 years ago. The agro-pastoral villages also reported the category of Vagabond (*Barlawe*) did not exist in the past. All groups in rural villages agreed that 15 years ago living conditions were much better overall and the percentage of ‘poor’ and ‘eat irregularly’ was much less than today. These categories have increased by 30% to 40% compared to the past. They confirmed that, in the past, more people were in the ‘doing well’ category, which had experienced a sharp drop in well being from 25% to 8%.

Though basic criteria had not changed much, most groups, particularly young people, said there was no armed conflict 15 years ago, when opportunities for business, employment and education were better. According to the aged males, “In the past, there was better grazing and water; which meant pastoral people suffered less”. 15 years ago there was a government which at least ensured law and order, though it was not effective in terms of community development. The livestock market and general business conditions were also relatively better in the past. Older people noted, “Inflation did not hurt the value of income in the past, and many people were able to build their own shelter.”

According to all men and women in these rural villages, these constraints were mostly attributed to the pro-longed armed conflict and the slow decay and final breakdown of government.

B. Urban Sites

There are no great differences between urban and rural people in Togdheer region. However, the study did reveal some significant differences in the way they measure the categories of well being.

Local Terminology and Terms

Somali word	English translation
<i>Fican/wanaagsan</i>	Doing well
<i>Tacabir</i>	To go overseas in search of fortune
<i>Khasare/Kacay</i>	Losing business or becoming bankrupt
<i>Lita</i>	Doing badly in terms of health income or other worldly possessions.
<i>Sabool</i>	Owns very few livestock or material possession
<i>Bara-kac/Qaxooti</i>	Fleeing your home and refugee situation
<i>Qaada-madhergaan</i>	Literally, neither goes completely hungry nor completely full which some groups defined it as eats irregularly
<i>Laflow-wa-dhagax</i>	Literally, “You have the bone I have the stone”. One old man defined it as a situation where one poor person has obtained left over bones from food shops and another poor person tells him he has the stone to help break the bones if you are willing to share them with me. Poor urban people eat bone marrow in occasions of extreme stress.

Well being was defined, by urban groups, as a family that has security and receives a good income from business or capital, their children go to school and have no health problems. Older men added community respect and religious piety, as essentials for well being, while women said an educated member of the family who works overseas is a big asset in an urban situation.

Ill being was unanimously defined by the urban groups as a refugee or displaced situation, the experience of conflict and its negative results. Such individuals and families have lost everything and are currently lacking food, shelter, clothing and health.

Categories, Criteria and Proportion of Households

The urban sites identified five categories of well being. They share four of these categories with the rural sites, but also identified the refugee/displaced category, which is present in large numbers at one of the sites, namely, Yirowe.

Doing well (*Ladan*): The most common criteria for this category are the ownership of big businesses or capital including homes and buildings. The most common type of business owned by this category is livestock export and commodities import. This category is also identified with community leadership roles. Older women in Yirowe said, “They can afford everything”. However, this category is not numerous. Yirowe people put them at 10%, while those in Buroa put them at 3%, at the present. According to the participants, 15 years ago this category was around 16% in Buroa town.

Doing OK (*Iska fican*): This was scored as the third highest category. The most common criteria given to this group are owns small business, have security, no health problems and gets support from kin. Older people added having no worries, while female groups agree on having community respect. For this category having employment, children and shelter was mentioned by various groups.

Poor (*Sabool*): The overall average of the urban group scores placed the highest proportion of households in this category. It was characterised by most groups as the lack of employment, while the female groups emphasise lack of shelter and skills. Another important criterion is the need for support, which is understood as support from relatives. Most groups also stated people in this category have enough to feed their children, which also implies having children, as stated by the male groups. The youth added that households in this category have the respect of the community, which may not be surprising since the majority of households are placed in this category.

Eat irregularly (*Qaada-ma-dhergaan*): This was scored as the second most numerous category by urban sites. It is generally characterised as having no capital or material possessions, no health, no skills and eating irregularly as the title indicates. Men mentioned lack of help from relatives as a significant criterion for this category. Youth agree on lack of education. Having no children was a criterion stated by both older men and young women.

Refugees (*Bara-kac/Qaxooti*): This category is a clear reference to the conflict and its devastation. The most common indicators include no food, no health, no shelter or support from kin. The experience of war and fear also features in this category. Groups at Yirowe estimated this category at 28%, which the highest population of displaced people in the country. Actually, all the people in Yirowe are displaced but their sentiment about the issue and their future plans figure in their indicators. In Buroa, this category is estimated at 5%.

The urban groups measure well being in terms of businesses or material possession, security (absence of violence), employment and support from family and relatives, also refugee status and experience of armed conflict. The presence and absence of these criteria seem to feature in all categories.

The Causes and Impacts of Poverty

The following causes of poverty cut across all groups in all rural and urban sites:

- Civil conflict
- Lack of rainfall
- Range land degradation
- Collapse of government/bad governance/Clanism
- Lack of markets and poor terms of trade for livestock
- 'Khat' chewing
- Lack of skills
- Unemployment

The impacts of poverty are stated as follows:

- Lack of security/law and order
- Poor health
- Lack of education
- Refugees/Displacement and migration
- Lack of free movement of people and trade within the country
- Lack of water and grazing which leads to poor livestock production
- Destruction of both private and public infrastructure
- Economic (food) insecurity

Women, in particular, emphasised the loss of all possessions including household items as a significant factor in the increase in a poor standard of living. Armed conflict forced people to flee with their lives and lost all their property in the process. They were unable to reclaim their houses and business for almost seven years, which were spent in refugee camps. When they returned they found their houses destroyed.

The collapse of 'government' resulted in a complete lack of public services, including animal health services, education, hospitals and emergency responses. Most participants agree the government system had been decaying for a long time, however, with its collapse even the little things it used to do were lost. Old men argued, "Bad government is better than no government".

The popular saying, "Water is life", is never more true than in a nomadic pastoral environment. People from these villages explained the significance of this statement in many ways. Besides people's and livestock's need for drinking, water is important for the growth of all vegetation the livestock need to feed and maintain the pastoral families. Hence, the failure of rains means drought and hardship (if not death) for the herders.

'Khat' (a mild stimulant) was considered by many, particularly older people to be a significant cause of poverty. The leaves of this plant are imported from neighboring countries and it is generally expensive. Its users have to choose between feeding their families or satisfying their need for a 'fix'. Since it is mostly a male habit, women argue it makes many of them irresponsible and uncaring of their families – they prefer to buy their 'fix' than buy medical care for their children.

Most old men and some of the old women agreed that migration of young people to urban centres is both a cause and an impact of poverty, since one of the reason young people leave is deterioration of the range

lands. However, they argue it is a loss to both themselves and their families, “Because they rarely find jobs in the urban centers and usually end up joining clan militia’s or engage in unlawful activities”.

Risk, Security and Vulnerability

Rural and urban people in Togdheer refer to security in terms of the presence or absence of armed conflict and conflict related issues, such as killing, robbing, rape etc. Though armed conflict is a relatively new phenomenon in urban centers, the rural nomadic pastoral environment has a long history of re-current conflicts between clans.

A common statement among pastoral people is, “Peace is the fundamental key to livelihood for everyone. Without it we can not even begin to talk about well being”.

Armed confrontation affects everyone in both the rural and urban areas, however, armed robberies and clashes between individuals are more common in the urban areas.

All men and women in rural areas state their main worry as the failure of rains, specially now that relative peace and stability has been achieved. It is very difficult for poor herders to withstand the shocks of droughts, unlike some families who own property (eg water reservoirs and other assets) which enable them to buy and transport water. Another risk faced by most pastoral families is the market price of livestock, which is beyond their control. The recent livestock export ban by the Saudi government is a good example. Herders were either unable to sell their livestock or they received very low prices, which meant they were unable to buy grain foods and other essentials.

Social Mobility and Opportunities

All participants indicted their optimism about the future. Men and women believe there are more opportunities for people to improve their lives, as a dividend of the recently attained peace and stability. Movement within the region is more possible enabling trade and travel to markets. However, this provides more opportunities for people with some capital assets or connections with the new political elite.

Rural people said there are opportunities to improve basic services and needs, such as, water availability, range revitalisation, animal health services etc. This can be achieved through their own co-operation and mobilisation of local resources, however, they admit that they also need international support.

A positive outcome of the Somali conflict is women’s increased opportunity of economic mobility. This is due to the fact that women and children are not traditionally targets of violent conflict between clans. This meant that women could move and trade across frontlines. They currently dominate all small businesses. They have become the bread earners of many families. This change has translated into increased roles for women as family decision-makers.

Economic mobility has increased (partly as a result of peace and stability) for those with capital assets in the urban centers. The economic situation has also improved for those with a family member working as a migrant worker in the Gulf oil states or as a refugee in the western countries. Remittances from these sources enable families to either live comfortably (if remittances are regular) or invest in new businesses.

The absence of government services and bank loans puts poor people in a special disadvantage, particularly those who have no access to support from well-off relatives or income earning children.

Social Exclusion

Somali society is traditionally egalitarian, particularly, in the pastoral environment. Even in urban centers, where an obvious difference in wealth exists there is no social discrimination against the poor. However, there are low caste clans, which suffer from social rejection, though they are not commonly present in rural villages. All groups stated that every member of community has the right to associate with anybody else, attend social functions and access the village committee. On the other hand, when conflicts between clans occur, different clan members (particularly men) stay away from each other and this increases divisions and distrust.

Social Cohesion, Crime and Conflict

Groups in each rural site reported no significant crime or conflict among inhabitants of each village and its surrounding range lands. The main reason for this (as described by aged men) is that village people usually belong to the same sub-clan and everyone knows everyone else in the area through their sub-clan connections. Though there are no formal police or jail in these villages, the traditional system of governance ensures law and order and mediates between individual cases and the normal discord between families.

Each village reported that earlier conflict with neighboring clans, which was resolved a year and a half ago, actually increased social cohesion among members of the village or sub-clan in the area. This is because one of the functions of the clan system is to co-operate and work together in the interest and defense of the clan. Off course, there is always misunderstanding and conflict between individuals in a community but this does not spread among the population of the village. It is the role of traditional elders' council to resolve these problems - almost all members of the village are closely related in the Somali kinship system.

Social cohesion means supporting each other during hard times, having common community leadership, extending a helping hand to the most unfortunate members of the community and solving problems together in a co-operative and peaceful manner. Older people said that social cohesion appears both in conflict situations and peaceful times, since, in the pastoral environment social groups need to act together (in a kinship or clan system, in this case) in order to face the harsh nomadic pastoral environment.

Only a few cases of low scale random thefts were reported in some villages. No particular individuals, families or groups (including gender) are particular targets of crime or conflict.

Coping strategies for the decline in well being include the diversification of sources of income. In the agro-pastoral areas, most families started farming sorghum and other dry weather crops. Two decades ago, besides their traditional livestock raising they also occasionally planted vegetables, such as tomatoes (which are sold in the nearby urban centers). Farm products provide an income and food source during droughts when range productivity diminishes.

Rural families have started to send at least one of their children (usually male) to urban schools (as one of the case study stories relates) or learn useful skills or business. This child is in turn expected to help the rest of the family. A similar strategy is the kinship support network. It is based on the traditional clan system and it obliges the better-off members of the closely-knit kinship group to help each other during difficult times.

Aged women and young men indicated that at the worst times, “Some people collect wild berries or firewood and other range products to sell in the urban markets”. Agro-pastoral villagers also reported ‘twigs sold as toothbrush’ which is very common in the mountain valleys.

4. PRIORITIES OF THE POOR

A. Rural Sites

Water or its shortage emerged as the main problem in all rural sites. Women and young men scored water as their 1st priority, while old men scored it as 2nd priority in most sites. This was explained by the fact that economic production in their area is very much based on water, which determines the quality of livelihood of pastoral families. As the old saying goes, “Water is life! And it is more so in the range lands”. They also reported that water shortage is a very old and common problem which affects every one, even those who have capital, which is mostly in the form of livestock. One elder said, “Droughts have always been our biggest fear”.

Some groups explained the reason why women and young people appear to be more concerned with water as, “In the household, it is their responsibilities to look after water”. This does not mean that men have no concern for water. Actually, one of the main causes of conflict between individuals and clan groups in rural areas is known to be over water sources (i.e. wells), particularly, during the long dry periods.

Human health care is a major concern for older people, particularly men. This was partly due to the lack of health service in villages and the elderly are more vulnerable to ill health than stronger young people. Older men complained they walk longer distances and do more work, because their teenage children have abandoned rural life and left them behind in the range lands’. Old women added, “There are no doctors in the villages”.

For younger people education featured as an important concern. No schools function in the villages except religious ‘Quranic’ schools for very young children.

Another significant problem in rural areas is soil erosion, which many claim to have caused desertification or ‘*nabaad guur*’, and general reduction of important vegetation in the area. This leads to the reduction of productivity in the range lands and all groups see it as a threat to the future of their livelihoods and that of their children.

Governance, which includes the emerging formal government is an issue of some importance, but not crucial for many in the rural areas. This is explained by the lack of progress toward a future governance system, because the Somaliland government has yet to be recognised internationally. There is a continuing debate over the need to incorporate the traditional system in any future governance system.

Other problems listed in rural villages include security, conflict, animal pests and lack of investment. Old men said, “All previous governments and international aid programmes have never invested properly in the rural areas and this has contributed to problems in the range-lands”.

B. Urban Sites

Though urban groups identified different 1st priorities as their major concern human health and water shortage emerge as common pressing concern for all groups.

Concern over health and water was evident at all levels of the urban community sites (which are in effect two parts of the same town). During the study there was a big public debate about how to rehabilitate the town, the hospital and the town's water supply, which were all destroyed during the conflict. Young women said ill health was very high among all socio-economic groups. Older people thought there was also a psychological problem resulting from, daily, seeing the destroyed hospital.

Older people stated lack of investment as their major concern, and defined this as the lack of funds for rehabilitating infrastructure (hospital, schools etc) and economic revival. For young people education remains a major concern.

Older men in Buroa stated, "For the community to recover from the destruction of conflict, we need to invest in our economy and public services. If we do not do this quickly we might relapse into more conflict". They explained they had managed to bring stability and security and should build on this opportunity.

Other problems identified by all urban people include security, conflict, shelter, land mines, governance and lack of employment.

Buroa town, the main urban centre of the region, has been the theatre of conflict for a long time and has consequently suffered tremendously with the total destruction of its buildings and infrastructure. Land mines are numerous in some parts of the town and attempts to remove them have not yet been completely successful.

Security and the potential for conflict remain high in urban areas due to past history, the concentration of people, particularly, unemployed young-men and the general weakness of law and order.

Older people noted the need to improve government and its management of public resources. They reflected, "One of our major problems both in the past and now is 'bad government, and we need to correct that".

Everyone argued the poorest members of the community have no specifically different priorities from the rest of the community. However, when pressed on the issue of food for the poor, the older groups state that no one goes completely hungry for long period, because food is shared with them.

Changes in Problems and Priorities

According to the majority of participants from both rural and urban sites, the problems of the past had only increased during the years of conflict. Though they enjoy relative stability at the moment, the basic problems have multiplied. The current government is too weak, economically and politically to make much difference.

A. Rural Sites

The basic problems facing rural village people remain the same - water, health, education and range land degradation. They explain these as long term problems that have been affecting them and which they continuously struggle with.

Fifteen years ago there was no armed conflict and government structures were at least attempting to respond to some community needs. Older women mentioned animal health programmes such as tick

control. Some development activities and public services were underway before the conflict and people had more hope.

Terms (for the herders) for livestock trade and general export business was much better in the past, according to the men, and this enabled rural families to cover most of their basic needs.

Young people in the villages reported that education programmes and skills training were more available in the past.

According to most participants, one reason for these problems was the failure by all previous national governments to address these rural issues and was partly at the root of the conflict that destroyed the government and nation.

Though different social groups in the pastoral environment have specific concerns, such as, old people's worry about health problems, young people's interest in education and young women's concern for skills, all of these issues affect them as a community.

B. Urban Sites

Individual interviews in urban sites established conflict and lack of security as the important problems fifteen years ago, yet groups scored different priorities. This might reflect confusion over time scale and that conflict remained in their lives for such a long time as to become almost normal.

Older people scored lack of investment as the main priority in the past and now. Young-men scored lack of employment and young-women lack of skills as their main problems in the past.

Older people (particularly men) explained this as the neglect of their town (Buroa) and region by the past government, which they claim to have been the fundamental causes of the conflict. They defined investment as the development in the economy and infrastructure, as well as, fair government. One group of older men in Buroa (Ismail) stated that, "The reason northern people revolted against the Barre regime was its complete neglect and oppression of these regions".

They all agree that before the conflict (1988) most people had their homes intact, the hospital and schools were functioning and there was piped water in the town. Now all of these are in ruins and need re-building.

How can these problems be solved?

According to all participants from rural and urban sites, the first step in solving their problems is to achieve permanent peace, stability and reconciliation regionally and in the country. Secondly, to agree on a competent and representative leadership, who should work for the common aim and bring people together. They think they have achieved most of these pre-requisites, though 'governance' will remain weak for some time to come.

A. Rural Sites

Women from Ceel-bilcile, a rural village stated, "A combination of peace, stability and good governance are the right means to overcome poor health, water shortage and the products of conflict". They termed this, "*Collaada* (the conflict) *dhaxalkeeda* (heritage)"

Young people in most villages stated that international support can help in overcoming some of these problems and the ways they can help is to recognize the state of Somaliland.

Problems that need external support, according to old rural people are:

- Availability of animal drugs
- Water - digging bore holes to address water problems
- Education - rehabilitation and construction of schools and education materials
- Livestock market availability
- Support in peace and stability
- Construction of roads.

Problems that can be solved by the community:

- Security
- Local construction materials and labor force
- Partial contribution of costs such as land for the schools and teachers

B. Urban Sites

The older groups in Buroa stated they are able to solve most problems through co-operation among community members and, “With God’s help” (*Inshallah*). However, most say their community also needs help from the international community. Young men believe international recognition of their state would be a significant break through for solving their problems.

Problems for which they require external help according to the group of young men from the urban sites:

- International recognition for the government
- Health facilities
- Schools
- Digging of deep wells
- Lifting the livestock export ban
- Generation of employment opportunities

Problems they can solve by themselves include security, conflict resolution and community mobilisation.

Problems for which they require external support as perceived by the older women from urban sites:

- Health facilities (Hospital)
- Water shortage
- Income generating projects/credit facilities
- Tools

Problems they can solve by themselves:

- Increasing the awareness of their people
- Re-building of their homes
- Increasing food production through small gardens

5. INSTITUTIONAL ANALYSIS

According to data obtained from the study, there are no major differences between the institutions that are important to urban or rural people. This is explained by the close social and economic (as well as, political) relationship between the rural and urban people. Many families have members in both places. The participants noted that urban centers are actually nothing more than trading centers for rural people. They added that for the last 15 years there has been an unprecedented intermingling and exchange between the groups, due to the atmosphere created by conflict.

A. Rural Sites

All groups from rural sites unanimously agreed the two most important institutions in their lives are the kinship system and the Elders council. For women the kinship system comes constantly first, while for men, particularly old men, the Elders Council is usually first. However, all groups agree these two institutions come as first and second.

(The kinship support system is fundamental to Somali clan organisation. Members of the same sub-clan pledge to support each other in the face of an enemy or attack by other groups and to pay together compensations to parties laying claim against one of their members. Cherished for centuries, the clan system is called upon for virtually all aspects of commercial, political and social organisation, and provides a clear organisational structure to manage daily community life. This collective action is usually extended to include support for members during difficulties or need.

The traditional elders' council is a clan-based institution responsible for conflict management and political governance at various levels. This traditional system assumed a more significant role after the collapse of the state. Marital, legal, property, family, and commercial disputes within the village (or town) come before the Council of Elders. In rural areas, allocation of grazing rights, protection of stock, maintenance of civil order within the sub-clan territory, and organisation of commercial exchanges, especially livestock trading, are Council duties.)

All groups state the traditional system of governance, represented by the Elders council has been solely responsible for bringing about peace among warring clans and maintaining stability that is now evident. They agree both of these institutions perform the primary response to any political or economic crisis facing the community.

Religious leadership (Mosque) is the other institution important to rural people. Religious leaders perform an important role in social and family life, such as, marriage, Islamic education for children etc. However, women stated the mosque is traditionally a place for male prayers and they rarely visit the Mosque. They prefer to pray in their homes. Religious leaders meet at Mosques for prayers only. For other functions, such as rain prayer, they congregate at public places accessible to all people.

For women, credit associations, business networks and NGOs are their prominent institutions. Many women are members of traditional credit system called '*Hagbad*'. All say it is their primary source of quick cash during a personal crisis. There are no formal credit systems or banks operating in the region. They also referred to relief programmes by international aid agencies such as ICRC or UNHCR.

It is important to note that the government was almost lowest in all groups' rating of institutions. This reflects the collapse of the State of Somalia and weakness of the current 'government' in Hargeisa. Also the long standing mistrust between formal government and the people created by years of bad governance

and atrocities. Most men believe politicians claim to represent them in the ‘government’ are serving their own interests, besides being generally corrupt. The current government in the capital and the region is considered financially and organisationally weak, and is unable to make a difference to the present critical situation. Many stated, “They (the politicians) had been and could be part of the problem”.

The list of institutions reflects the absence of schools, hospital or doctors, vets, forestry or range department and any other social services in the rural villages or surrounding areas.

B. Urban Sites

Results from urban sites generally follow the same pattern. The kinship system and elders’ council are the main institutions of importance.

Women, particularly the young, who are much involved in trade and small business rate their business networks highly (including credit associations, which were ranked third by older women) because they provide access to credit and information about markets all over the region and country. One young woman said, “When things get difficult the first people I consult are my credit network (called *Hagbad*) and they either provide the support I need or advice me on how proceed”.

Marriage and relationship with in-laws is more highly favoured by older groups in urban centres. This was explained by the fact that older people have married children and benefit from marriage relations and dowry.

Overseas remittance from family and relatives is also more important with older groups in urban centres, because they have more family members and relatives and hence more chances for support. Old men added respect and consideration for older people is part of the Somali culture.

It is instructive to learn that almost all groups gave the least rank to the government (including its branches). This reflects the disappearance of the State of Somalia and the current government in Hargeisa is basically a façade, which has little impact outside of the capital town.

This demonstrates the all-encompassing role assumed by informal institutions in Somali society. However, many members noted the inherent weaknesses of traditional institutions in tackling modern problems and the delivery of social services such as education and health to all.

How do people rate these institutions?

Ranking of criteria evaluating institutions by different groups at an urban centre:

Elicited by ranking on a 1 to 8 point scale: 1 = highest rank

Criteria	Old men	Old women	Young men	Young women
Effectiveness	2	3	1	1
Trust				
Promptness of help	4	5	5	4
Awareness of peoples needs		6	6	6
Provide help	1	2	2	2
Non-partiality	5	1	3	3
Peoples participation	3	4	4	5

For all, trust meant reliability in providing help when needed, and all groups scored trust and effectiveness as the main criteria for evaluating institutions. Generally people consider the following indicators when explaining trust and confidence in an institution:

- Provide help when needed
- Prompt response to crisis
- Reliability and dependability
- Non-partiality

The traditional Council is considered an effective and trustworthy institution because it responds to crisis immediately and continues to engage with the situation until its final solution. The ability to solve problems is a major consideration in evaluation. In this is included non-partiality because in solving problems fairness is a crucial factor.

The kinship support system is another institution valued for its reliability and dependability during hard times. One old woman noted the familiar Somali saying, “*Ilaahawo indha garad hanoo waayin*”, which literally means “God! Don’t deny us relatives”. This implies the lack of relatives (or people whom we know) as a calamity.

Both institutions have a long history and proven track records in society, which came to depend on them. Their familiar role in society gives them wide acceptance and demonstrates that most people are part of the system. However, the Elders’ Council is usually made up of elderly men and some women see it as unfair, though they accept its responsibility.

According to older people awareness of community and household needs was very important in evaluating institutions. One older woman mentioned, “Poor members of the community need to be kept in mind all the time, and this is why religious leaders are seen as special healers for the poor and sick”.

It is important to note that none of the public service institutions (hospital, schools, water supply etc) function at the moment and that is why people do not talk about them.

Role of Institutions in Assisting During Crisis

All participants from rural and urban sites stated they turn to their relatives during a crisis. For older groups their children are their primary supporters. Younger people approach their parents, uncles or aunts. At the community level or sub-clan level responses to crisis are co-ordinated by the clan or religious leaders. They manage the collective support for needy people or specific individuals or households that are facing crisis.

The other institution that is important in coping with crisis is the traditional Council of Elders, whose special responsibility is to solve conflicts.

Another institution, which is considered helpful in a crisis, is religious leadership. It is the first thing to come to peoples' minds during a crisis. This was explained by an old man thus, "As a Muslim the first thing you should do is to remember your maker (God) and seek his support in dealing with your problems". This usually involves going to the Mosque to perform prayers and consult with religious leaders. If there is drought, conflict or crisis the religious leaders organise prayer services and try to calm people.

Though they do not give them very high ranks, young people and old women stated international aid organisations, particularly UNHCR, were involved in providing support during a crisis. This was mostly during the refugee crisis in the neighbouring countries. They think their support is unreliable and people have no role or influence in their work.

In practical terms, all community members co-operate and work together in dealing with crisis, particularly natural disasters, such as droughts and famine. Neighbours and relatives help each other and, when necessary, appoint a special committee of community members to co-ordinate and mobilise responses to emergencies.

6. GENDER RELATIONS

A. Rural Sites

Islamic culture and the demands of the nomadic pastoral environment have generally defined the roles and responsibilities of men and women in the family and in society. Another factor is the extended family structure, which is more prominent in urban households.

In a pastoral, subsistence economy women are responsible for household activities such as, cooking, cleaning, child-care, preparing the family shelter for nomadic movement and looking after the sheep and goats. Young women are responsible for fetching water and making household items such as mats and traditional containers.

The men are primarily responsible for the defense of the family and looking after any camels (the most valued asset of the pastoral family). They are also responsible for watering livestock and scouting for grazing areas in the range lands, which may involve walking long distances. In urban centres the men are primarily responsible for providing the family food, shelter, clothing etc.

Within the community women's main role is the preparation of the venue and food for any major community meetings or other social functions, such as weddings or religious celebrations. The men's community functions include settling disputes (council of elders), meeting visitors, political and overall community development issues. Older women have the role of settling minor disputes among women and acting as good will ambassadors or couriers during peace-making efforts among the clans.

All rural groups said there was no significant violence against women either in the household or community at large. They mentioned disputes within the family related to men marrying more than one wife.

There is no difference within women groups as far as gender relations are concerned.

The responsibilities of women have changed over the last ten years resulting from circumstances created by the prolonged, armed conflict. Women have increasingly taken over small businesses and gained a lot of financial resources, while the men were engaged in conflict. Many women have become providers for their families. This has been the basis of some increase in disputes in the households, which has resulted in many divorces.

Women's role in the community changed when they became more mobile, which is a requirement of business. This has produced some resentment among men, though they claim it has not increased violence against women.

In the opinion of women groups their increased earning power improved their decision-making capacity within both the household and the community. Now they are consulted or make final decisions about how family assets are used, what to buy for their children, where to send them to school. Their increased mobility has given them more freedom of movement and exposure to useful social experiences.

However, this has not translated into any major changes in the traditional household power relations. Men still make decisions in the crucial areas of marriage and inheritance; political and major economic decisions; and relationships with other communities and government.

B. Urban Sites

According to both male and female groups responsibilities of women within the household have increased over the past 15 years. In the past, their responsibilities included cooking, cleaning house and child care but in recent years, a large number of women are involved in running businesses ranging from tea shops and small groceries to cloth and vegetable imports and distribution. Many women run vegetable and meat markets and the lucrative retail “Khat” market. This development has effectively made women main bread winners in numerous households, including those headed by a male.

All groups agree this is one of the outcomes of the prolonged conflict, which created both opportunities and difficulties for women. While men were involved in fighting, women were forced to feed their families by using their role as non-combatants to move freely and conduct business across clan lines.

Men stated that women had more access to credit schemes run by international aid organisations in recent years. This is partly because the amount of credit provided is usually small and that the aid organisation specifically target poor women in their programmes.

The responsibility of men in the household is based both on Islamic teaching and culture. According to all groups men are primarily responsible for taking care of their families by providing food, shelter, protection and all the needs for well being.

In decision making, men make the final decisions in family affairs, but they consult their partners for the overall good of the household. However, women make decisions on issues, such as, giving support to relatives from the family income, giving away food or clothing or hosting travellers. Giving a daughter’s hand in marriage and where the family should reside are decisions made by men. Normally men make all the major decisions both in the family and community.

However, women’s perception and exercise of power have changed with their increased economic status, and many women make significant decisions to solve problems in the absence of their husbands. They travel freely without seeking permission from their husbands or male relatives.

All groups agree there is no significant increase in violence against women. There is also no difference in gender relations among different groups within the community.

Sanaag Region of Somaliland

The study was conducted by thirty three residents of Sanaag community. Selection was as described in the methodology and process section of the guidelines. The findings were compiled and translated by Ahmed Adam Mohamed.

RURAL SITES:	
Daanweyne and Marawade	
Abdi Shire Diriyeh	General team leader
Hassan Ahmed Idleh	Sub-team leader
Mohamoud Ali Musa	
Amina Dahir Shire (woman)	
Bashir Musa Jama	Sub-team leader
Lul Mohamoud Jama (woman)	
Mohamoud Mohamed Ali	Sub-team leader
Halimo Abdalla Salah (woman)	
Ali H. Adam	
Dagaar and Buq	
Ahmed Mohamed Hashi	General team leader
Hassan Mohamed Dhonkaal	Sub-team leader
Jawahir Abokor Ali (woman)	
Jama Farah Ali	Sub-team leader
Saeed Mohamed Osman	
Kaltoon Mohamed Hassan	
Ali Mohamed Dualeh	Sub-team leader
Farah Issa Moahamoud	
Fadumo Abdalleh Musa	
Bihin and Sufdhere	
Hassan Ibrahim Ahmed	General team leader
Ahmed Saeed Mohamed	Sub-team leader
Adam Awad	
Hawo Ashuur (woman)	
Saeed Mohamed Ogleh	Sub-team leader
Abdikarim Yusuf	
Asha Mohamed (woman)	
Ismail Ali Mohamed	
URBAN SITES:	
Erigavo town	
Ahmed Mohamed Bandey	General team leader
Ahmed Ali Hassan	
Magool Salah Hassan (woman)	
Elafweyn town	
Jama Ahmed Ayanle	General team leader
Abdi Hayir Yusuf	
Abdi Hersi Hassan	
Awo Awil Diriyeh (woman)	

1. SUMMARY

The Main Findings and Patterns of Results from the Four Main Themes

a) Well-being

The respondent groups classified the Sanaag community into broad four categories:

<i>Somali word</i>	English translation
<i>Ladan</i>	Doing well
<i>Iska ladan</i>	Pulling along
<i>Maqadaa ma dhergaan</i>	Facing difficulties (eating irregularly)
<i>Barlaawe or Caydh</i>	Miserable or vagabond

Because of the interdependency of Sanaag's people according to clan and kinship, it was difficult to draw a line between these categories. The groups differed widely in their opinions on the relevant category for each family. Their decisions were directed by considerations of age, gender and location.

The main criteria of clustering the households into the above categories were:

- Number of animals per family.
- Diversity of livestock species - sheep, goats, camels and cattle.
- Number of dependants - the more people, the higher criterion.
- Having children as work force.
- Power (size) of the clan as an insurance body. People were respected according to their clans.
- Availability and affordability of public services such as school and health care.
- Assets owned in urban centres.
- Having grazing land. Some land is common property and all livestock owners, including the landless, share succulent pasture in these common grazing areas during the wet season, while the landed return to their reserved, enclosed pasture in the dry season.
- Having a farm. A few irrigated farms produce vegetables and fruit as cash crops.
- Food availability.
- Security - people said, "Where there is no security there is no good life".
- Support from relatives and the community at large.
- Source of income from employment.

The proportion of households in the different categories changed over the last 15 years because of the civil war and collapse of central government. Somalia has remained a state without central administration since January 1991. Lack of legal protection for exported Somali livestock and its later total ban by importing countries like Saudi Arabia has reduced people from upper to lower categories. Other causes include population increase, absence of public services, recurrent droughts and increased illiteracy in the absence of education opportunities. However, the major cause of poverty in many, especially urban families, is the daily chewing of *Khat* (succulent leaves of *Catha edulis* spp.). One chewing session could cost around US\$10. This is far in excess of most families' incomes. The Marawade group identified the lack of economic diversity for households and the under exploitation of marine resources.

The main impacts of this poverty:

- Migration to other countries especially by educated people.
- Killing, road blocks, theft.
- People moving from rural areas to urban centres.
- Environmental destruction resulting from cutting trees for charcoal and gasses for fodder.
- Public services are not taken care of.
- Bad cultures introduced.
- Exclusion of people, according to their economic status.
- Women have accepted the role of feeding families from petty trade and livestock management.

b) Problems and Priorities of the Poor

The major problems stated by all groups or the majority in the rural sites are:

- Lack of education for children.
- Lack of proper human health care.
- Lack of markets for livestock and other local products like the Frankincense.
- Unemployment.
- Water shortage.
- Insecure family income.

The list was long but these are the ones cutting across the sites and the groups.

For the urban sites:

Cutting across all groups were:

- The lack of human medicines.
- Lack of education opportunities.
- Unemployment.

Other concerns included:

- Insecure income.
- Social exclusion.
- Poor shelter.
- Lack of self-confidence.
- Poor dust roads.

It was asserted that these problems had always been present. However they had been exacerbated by prolonged civil conflicts and the long absence of a central administration, which had responsibility for security and resource mobilisation. Natural calamities (such as droughts) were described as the mother of most of the socio-economic instabilities.

c) Institutions

It was emphasised that the traditional system of governance comprising the Council of Elders, clan and sub-clan chiefs, and religious men was the most trusted and effective of institutions. Government agencies had been inactive since the collapse of central administration. The Hargeisa administration has established police, judiciary systems, regional and district administrations but their activities were mainly confined to the bigger towns like Erigavo and El Afweyn. The jurisdiction of the Hargeisa government does not have full mandate over the whole of Sanaag region. The eastern district of Badhan and some of

the southern areas of the region are divided, mostly along clan lines. Some clans support Somaliland while others support Puntland or the north east regional autonomy established by the Majeerteen clan of Somalia.

d) Gender Relations

The roles and responsibilities of men and women have changed little over the past 15 years, especially in rural life where these are well defined by culture and beliefs.

In the urban areas, women have been transformed into the household breadwinners. This was possible because they were able to cross clan territories while men were restricted to their clan areas. Employment opportunities for men have reduced to zero. Many people criticise this change. They argue that women earning food for the family are no longer loyal to their husbands resulting in many families breaking down. Childcare was said to have declined because mothers go out to work or business resulting in children no longer being so disciplined.

Both men and women asserted their pride in the roles and responsibilities allocated to them by Somali beliefs and culture.

Conclusions

The economic backbone of Sanaag continues to be the rearing a livestock (sheep, goats, camels and cattle) in a harsh environment with an average rainfall of 100 - 300mm per annum, which is unpredictable both spatially and temporally. The external market for livestock was never reliable but recognised government gave it some security. In the absence of such government this security has been lost. Further trade difficulties relate to the 1998 ban on Somali livestock imposed by the Saudi Arabian government citing Rift Valley Fever (RVF) as their reason. Some families can irrigate farms from springs to grow cash crops such as vegetables (onions, lettuce, tomatoes and potatoes) and fruit (lemons, guava, pomegranates etc).

Most problems were caused by harsh climate, the absence of a legitimate administration and the unreliable markets.

The communities are divided into clans on a patri-lineal basis. Traditional governance was the only system to survive the collapse of central government. Guurti (council of men elders) is the highest forum chaired by the Sultan (clan chief) and Nabadoon (sub-clan chief). There are different levels of Guurti from village to national level.

2. BACKGROUND

Study purpose

The study was in preparation for the World Development Report 2000-1 and was initiated by the World Bank. The following outcomes were listed:

- To deeply explore and understand the current status of different thematic aspects of life according to the perceptions of poor people.
- Findings would be shared within Sanaag community, with district, national and regional administrations and any other interested agencies or institutions.

Methodology and Process

Information from the study was shared with the executive committee of the Sanaag Community Based Organisation (SCBO). This committee arranged a meeting of the SCBO board members (30 in number) to discuss how to carry the study forward. The executive was mandated to select people with the required qualifications and also contact other concerned institutions such as government agencies.

The regional governor and regional planning co-ordinator were informed of the study and its underlying importance for Sanaag and Somaliland. The SCBO was instructed to obtain approval from the ministry of planning but allowed to carry out the training and pilot study before approval was obtained.

The SCBO executive committee selected 10 women and 10 intellectuals, who could use the English version of the guidelines, but a Somali version was also given to each sub-team. The rest of the team was from the SCBO.

Five days of training in tools and methods for data collection were organised in Erigavo and El Afweyn towns.

A pilot study was carried out at 3 sites to familiarise the teams with, and resolve questions about methodology. The teams were divided into smaller teams comprising a woman, an intellectual and an elder who knew the people and the culture.

After the pilot study the team members, came together to share their discoveries and discuss issues that needed addressing. For example, the 10 years difference suggested in the guidelines was found to be not feasible because very little had changed in that time. A difference of 15 years was preferred. 1984 could be easily remembered for its severe drought and for food aid granted by the Italian government. The country was more stable 15 years and more ago.

Approval for the study was obtained from the ministry of planning.

During the main study, two smaller teams went to Erigavo and El Afweyn to collect the urban information. The others were divided into 3 teams.

8 sites were selected for the World Bank guidelines and another 2 sites where poor families were contacted.

In the rural sites, teams spent 2 days collecting information and 1 day pulling the findings together and validating it with community groups. In the urban centres, the teams were smaller and they collected, synthesised and validated information over 4 days.

At each site, the men were first met in a large congregation to share information on wider issues such as market conditions, security, health problems and climatic conditions. The teams then explained the aims of their visits. Discussions always started with groups of old men. If this did not happen they might have been affronted, as they assume responsibility for the area, and could have opposed the study. These elders were asked to help identify people in the lower categories by gender and age. Team members used their knowledge of the area and other informal sources to verify the categorisation of the selected people.

The selected people listed the social categories and main institutions, which were then scored or ranked, followed by questions and informal discussions. Individuals for the case studies were identified during these discussions.

The main data was collected during April 1st to 9th, 1999.

Selected Sites:

Sites were selected according to:

- Natural resource diversity (pastoral, agro-pastoral, farming, frankincense).
- Grazing systems (free grazing, sedentarised).
- Urban and rural.
- Population concentration (availability of pasture and water).
- Clan composition (areas with more clan representations were preferred).
- Geographical difference (mountains, valleys, plateaux and woodland areas).
- Different species of livestock raised in the area (camels, cattle, sheep and goats).

Table 2.1: Number of Discussion Groups at the Study Sites

Sites		Poor				Doing well				Total
	Rural	Men	Women	Youth	Subtotal	Men	Women	Youth	Subtotal	
1	Marawade	7	5	9	21	5	4	5	14	35
2	Bihin	23	17	13	53					53
3	Dagaar	27	13	23	63					63
4	Sufdhere	18	12	18	48					48
5	Buq	33	18	28	79					79
6	Daanweyne	3	2	2	7	6	4	5	15	22
Urban										
1	Erigavo	31	13	26	70					70
2	Elafweyn	10	13	8	31					31
	Total	152	93	127	372	11	8	10	29	401

Table 2.2: Number of Individual Case Studies at the Study Sites

Site		Poor				Doing well			Total
	Rural	Men	Women	Youth	Subtotal	Men	Women	Subtotal	
1	Marawade	1	1	1	3		1	1	4
2	Bihin	2	2	1	5				5
3	Dagaar	12	4	18	34				34
4	Sufdhere	2	2	1	5				5
5	Buq	16	12	8	36				36
6	Daanweyne	1	1	1	3	1	1	2	5
Urban									
1	Erigavo	4	5	7	16				16
2	Elafweyn	2	2	1	5				5
	Total	40	29	38	107				107

3. PERCEPTIONS OF POVERTY: WELL-BEING DEFINITIONS AND TRENDS

Local terminology and definitions:

lixdan adhi ah iyo lix carruur ah hadba waa kan xerada u soo horeeya

lixdanle bahdi u hodon ah

afartan adhi ahi kumana sii deyso kumana daryeesho

Terminologies:

Somali word	English translation
<i>Hantiile</i>	Wealthy
<i>Hoolo badane</i>	With many animals
<i>Meel dhexaad</i>	Middle level in economic resources
<i>Ladan</i>	Doing well
<i>Iska ladan</i>	Pulling along
<i>Maqadaa ma dhergaan</i>	Facing difficulties (irregular eating)
<i>Caydh</i>	Destitute
<i>Barlaawe</i>	Vagabond
<i>Adhi</i>	Sheep and goats
<i>Geel</i>	Camels
<i>Lo'</i>	Cattle
<i>Gammaan</i>	Horses and donkeys
<i>Faras</i>	Horse
<i>Dameer</i>	Donkey
<i>Beerwiyeer</i>	Irrigated farm
<i>Beer hareedaad</i>	Rain fed farm
<i>Degaan</i>	Settled range enclosures
<i>Reer guuraa</i>	Truly pastoral (transhumance)
<i>Bender</i>	Urban life
<i>Fayo qab</i>	Well being
<i>Sako</i>	Yearly alms paid to the needy according to Islamic law
<i>Kaalo</i>	Animals given to the newly married man by his clan
<i>Baaho</i>	Animals given to the poor to build up a herd
<i>Yarad</i>	Dowry given to the family of bride
<i>Hanti ma guurto</i>	Permanent assets like land and buildings

The above list of terms was made and endorsed by all groups, as the lifestyle of most Somalis is very similar, especially the pastoral lifestyle. Farming communities added some words for their crops:

Somali word	English translation
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<i>Dalag</i>	Crop
<i>Khudaar</i>	Vegetables
<i>Geed midhood</i>	Fruit trees
<i>Qodaal</i>	Cultivation
<i>Cayayaan</i>	Pests

The urban people have many similarities with rural people as they maintain links with pastoral people and, receive support from the rural areas, but they added some words:

Somali word	English translation
<i>Wadhato</i>	Open market
<i>Jeeble</i>	Petty trader
<i>Ganacsade</i>	Big trader
<i>Shaarishaari</i>	Women import essentials from other parts of the country
<i>Hamaal</i>	Porter
<i>Kuuli</i>	Coolie
<i>Qurbaawi</i>	Working abroad
<i>Hilibile</i>	Butcher (mostly women)
<i>Amaah</i>	Loan
<i>Aanaley</i>	Milk seller (women)
<i>Hirfad</i>	Technical skill
<i>Agoon</i>	Orphan
<i>Takoor</i>	Exclusion

Below are a few proverbs to define well being:

"Lixdan adhi ah iyo lix carruur ah hadba waa kan xerada u soo horeeya". "60 sheep or goats and 6 children come first. If the animals arrive before the children were born, that family might remain doing-well unless unusual circumstances intervene. If the animals are received after the children, that family might remain poor unless other support is forthcoming". This proverb explains the relationship between animal resources and the number of people depending upon them.

"Lixdanle bahdi u hodon ah". "A family with 60 sheep or goats, though poor, is the wealthiest in its kin". This means that relatives surrounding the family are poorer and expect support from that family even though it has very little to give away.

"Afartan adhi ahi kumana sii deyso kumana daryeesho". "40 sheep and goats neither support you sufficiently nor let you free".

"Bukaan badan iyo bukto badan labadaba dadkaa kugu naca". "Prolonged sickness and persistent poverty causes people to hate you". This highlights the poor having no social respect.

Well-being was defined as when the individual, family or community has no worries but has property, dependants and dignity, also economic resources sufficient to meet their needs, freedom of movement and contacts with the other groups of society.

Ill being was defined as when people have security and economic worries which can affect their lives, property, dependants or dignity, also restrictions to economic and social movement across the country or

disintegration of cohabiting groups. Some argued that ill being is relative because everyone has some worries. i.e. some people lack children but have economic resources while others lack resources to feed the many children they have, some are poor in knowledge (religion and modern) while others have other concerns.

Almost all groups categorised the communities into four or five categories. It was very difficult to draw a line to distinguish the categories.

Somali term	English Translation
<i>Ladan</i>	Doing well
<i>Iska ladan</i>	Pulling along
<i>Maqadaa ma dhergaan</i>	Facing difficulties (eating irregularly)
<i>Barlaawe</i>	Miserable or vagabond

Some groups added "*sabool*" between the *Maqadaa ma dhergaan* and *Barlaawe* categories. *Sabool* is a general term for the poor or *Saboolnimo* (poverty).

Another group included "*maalqabeen*" above the *Ladan* category but meaning and criteria are very close.

The El Afweyn group added "*firoon*" above the *maqadaa ma dhergaan* category but its meaning was very similar to *iska ladan*.

Dhulyaal (flat on the ground) and *Ma dhardhaarte* (can not get anything to cook) are similar to vagabond.

All groups in all sites scored high proportions of the lower categories of *Maqadaa ma dhergaan* and *Barlaawe* throughout and more in the current situation. The proportion of households in the categories of *ladan* and *iska ladan* had reduced over the last decade, citing lack of government, livestock export ban and poor social services.

The main causes of the poverty in Sanaag region, and its impacts were:

* **War.** The civil war had shattered social cohesion in area since 1988. Public services were not being maintained and intellectuals had moved out of the region or the country. In the region there are no qualified health workers, no teachers and destroyed school buildings. The civil war also caused people to move to new locations with new ecology and many had not adapted to their new surroundings.

* **Droughts.** Rainfall is unpredictable both temporally and spatially. The average fall is between 100mm on the plateaux and 300 -350mm in the mountains. The year is divided into two wet and two dry seasons. This can be described graphically as:

November to February	March to end-June	July to September	September to end October
<i>Jilaal</i>	<i>Gu'</i>	<i>Haga'</i>	<i>Dyr</i>
Long dry season	Heaviest rain expected	Short dry season	Short rains

Small ruminants and cattle are moved near permanent water sources in Jilaal. Many animals are lost each year. The irrigated farms suffer of water shortage and, sometimes there are frosts in the highlands. Land is degraded as every shoot of grass is eaten.

* **Government.** The absence of a central administration to mobilise local resources and attract investments to support public services and security has negatively impacted people's lives. They take the law into their own hands and have no strong system to punish criminals, no proper public services, lack of legal protection for local produce, marine resources are exploited by foreigners and there is great insecurity for non-Somalis. Somalis are divided along clan lines.

* **Health.** New human and animal health problems have emerged. People have no strategy to deal with them. The result is that many animals are lost each year. This was especially severe during the war when drugs absent from the area.

* **Economy.** The economic diversity of households is limited. The majority of people depend upon livestock. Marine resources are under-exploited locally and stolen by foreigners. The shortage of water means farming is not easy. The result is the loss of animals by drought or diseases or theft, which can reduce the families, dependant on the animals, to a condition of absolute destitute. Consequently, to survive, they behave very badly and start begging or stealing. Many people have moved into the urban centres where the opportunities for employment were meagre.

* **Markets.** The absence of reliable markets for the local products like livestock, Frankincense and farm produce. The result is sharp reduction of peoples' purchasing power because, all other activities were fuelled by the livestock trade.

* **Range land** privatisation, which resulted in restricting herders' free movement in search of water and pasture, is also a source of conflict between neighbouring families and clans. Owners of privatised land share the succulent pasture in the common grazing areas with landless people during the wet seasons and return to their reserved fodder in their enclosures in the dry season, which they do not share commonly.

* **Population increase** – has resulted in pressure, competition and conflicts over the scarce natural resources of land, water and pasture.

* **Water shortage.** Although some efforts have been made to increase water availability in the area by rehabilitating existing water sources, digging new shallow wells and harvesting rain water, the need for more is still a priority for herders. Some times there is conflict over water use – especially when many animals are kept close to a source (in the dry season) and much overgrazing takes place. Camels are the only species capable of long travel to the water and stay away from drinking for 2 weeks or more.

* **Unemployment.** Economic opportunities are very limited. Men do little useful economic activity since war started in the area. Women are often the bread-winners of a family, especially in urban centres. Many young men burn the depleting green trees to make charcoal for sale in the towns of Erigavo and El Afweyn.

* **Chewing Khat** (Twigs of *Catha edulis* spp. chewed by most men). This drains a large proportion of many families' limited resources. Young men mount roadblocks to steal Khat at gunpoint when they do not have money. The Khat traders' escorts are heavily armed. Death and injuries are regularly reported.

* **Illiteracy.** Rural children always suffer from the lack of education opportunities. They attend to the family's animals when they are young and marry while they are still young. This brings more pressure on the small animals to support the family. Schools in the urban centres have been damaged by the war. Children now play along the streets throwing stones here and there. Many boys joined the clan militias while they were still very young and became addicted to Khat, which may lead them to commit crimes.

SECURITY

All the groups emphasised security as a major factor for social well-being. The following statements were made to show the importance:

- “*Rag gogoshiisu waa nabad*” or “The men's beds are the peace”.
- “*Hadaan nabadi jrin nololi ma jirto*” or “If there is no peace there is no good life”.
- Women said, “*Nabadu waa hooyada nolosha*” or “Peace is the mother of the good life”.

Security could be defined when people do not fear for themselves, their possessions, their dependants or their dignity and are able to travel freely across the country. Other criteria for defining security include having enough economic resources (stable income), being consulted, being trusted and respected in the community.

All groups stated there is relative security in Sanaag region and its surroundings from which everyone can benefit. Some people feel insecure as a result of crimes, like murder or robbery, they committed after peace treaties were signed by the four major clans of the region. Some women and youth cited poverty as a source of insecurity because they said, “A hungry stomach has no ears”. Poor people can easily commit socially unacceptable mistakes. Poverty creates worries and frustrations, which are the basis of insecurity.

The groups at all sites stated the followings as major shocks that could be encountered:

- Droughts which claim livestock and crop resources of the families.
- Sudden death of beloved relatives especially murdered.
- Sudden outbreak of fighting between groups in the area which can force the families to move out to safer areas.
- Epidemic health problems in the livestock and human being.
- Floods although not frequent.
- The ban on the Somali livestock by the Arabian countries in 1998.
- Bandits who may take all the economic resources at one time.
- The absence of the central administration for the last 10 years.

Some groups said that people from strong clans and those with the many relatives overseas are able to cope better than others.

OPPORTUNITIES

The groups felt social and economic mobility went to zero during the civil war (1988-1991) with origins in clan based hostilities, which spared nobody except the women. However, they were some times

suspected of spying. Trade was not active across clan frontiers or within clans. Many business contacts with the outside world have been lost.

The situation improved when the clans signed and observed agreements over the cohabiting of formerly warring sides. Since then people can travel everywhere but trade movements have some limitations. There are many armed war veterans who take the law into their own hands. Additionally, people who lost property during the war took revenge on those who had stolen from them.

These changes resulted in some weaponry falling into the hands of irresponsible people. Banditry and the number of roadblocks have increased in the country along with pointless clan confrontations. Many animals, ill adapted to new areas they had been moved into, were lost. A man with a gun could secure his living for a day. People from smaller clans were most vulnerable or the targets of armed gangs.

During the conflict, warlords and young men with guns seemed to benefit because they were the first to be fed. The common person was the loser but that has changed since the peace agreements were made. Now, it is the warlords and gangs that suffer most because the only way they could make a living was during a conflict. The traditional system of governance gained respect from the majority of people, since it was the only system to survive the collapse of the formal administration. Traders were now benefiting from the lack of tariffs and the relative security. Some groups mentioned that some people have regained some of their economic resources that had been looted during the war. Families have come out of inhospitable areas they were forced into during war and returned to their former dwellings. This has benefited their livestock whose numbers have increased.

All groups stated the following as factors for getting out of poverty:

- Increased rainfall is a major factor but only God almighty can guarantee this.
- Good legitimate governance, which can mobilise local resources and attract outside support.
- Many people argued that the region is bestowed with more natural resources than other regions in the country but is isolated. Thus, good roads linking it to the other parts of the country and improvement of the natural seaports could have a great impact.
- Exploring reliable markets for livestock and other products like the Frankincense.
- Exploiting marine resources and exploring markets for it. Somali people do not culturally exploit marine resources but foreign, illegal, merciless over exploitation was frequently reported.

If these issues were addressed the community believes they could take care of the rest their needs.

To help the poor get out of the miserable life, the following have been recommended:

- Seasonal credits which revolves among the community groups.
- Food for work activities to fill temporary food gaps.
- Explore steady sources of income and secure jobs.
- Affordable public services like education and health care.

SOCIAL EXCLUSIONS

The majority of groups insisted there are no socially excluded people in their localities, but others have mentioned the following:

* There are minority clans, which are historically excluded in the communities of Sanaag and the country at large. These are the *midgo*, *yibro*, *tumalo* etc. They can neither marry into or from other clans. They

are not consulted during decision making. They never get a fair share or any of the common resource allocations. One group stated they might not get fair trials in the traditional system of governance.

* Poor people, although supported materially, are out of the decision making circles but decisions rarely impact upon them negatively. The “doing-well” groups have valid arguments that reaching decisions involves costs, which the poor often can not afford and were therefore relieved for not being overburdened. However, the poor always have little respect in the community, they are not trusted with loans and other investments and they may not marry girls from the upper categories. NB: “All these arguments were not agreed upon during the validation processes”.

* Women in the urban centres felt they could have a role in community decision making forums, while women in the rural sites expressed happiness with the allocation of responsibilities according to culture and belief.

The power and wealth of a clan, results in the inclusion or exclusion of people from community decision making forums. Many groups said the normally excluded clans (such as those names above) can be included if their economic status improves or the culture changes.

SOCIAL COHESION

The groups listed a number of characteristics defining the existing social cohesion in the visited sites:

- Having enforced and respected rules and regulations for water and pasture sharing.
- Watering animals together.
- Attending burials together.
- Helping the needy regardless of their origin.
- Solving disputes mutually and amicably.
- Having Xeer (contracts) for solving and controlling social issues.

Although shattered during the civil war, social unity and collaboration have been improving steadily since people have come together after peace agreements. The men council of elders meets regularly to share updates about the different aspects of social life. Conflicts and disputes are handled in a friendly manner together and natural resources are shared co-operatively.

Tensions between clans are unearthed when intentional murders are reported and during the allocation of common resources like projects funded by international agencies – especially if the latter are not properly managed. Otherwise people live together peacefully and collaboratively.

Allegedly, only the armed militias have an interest in conflict and violence because they can receive honour and provide financial support to the clan. They may raid resources from opposition sides during active war. However, currently the people were cohabiting peacefully.

The majority of groups asserted the categories in the community had not changed but the proportion of households has been reduced from higher to lower levels. Some groups argued that there is no “*Ladan*” (doing-well) category currently, unlike the past. People in Erigavo insisted there was never such a category. The criteria for determining the categories were very much the same because very little has changed. Urban people and others mentioned there were employment opportunities in the past but this is now out of the question because of the absence of a central co-ordination system. Many people have

migrated abroad (to North America, west Europe and the Arabian Gulf) and remit US Dollars to their relatives in the country. Security was better and public services functioned in the past. The absence of a reliable market and legal protection for the local produce has worsened the situation.

Peoples' purchasing power is at its lowest in history, there are no public services, security is still fluid and family economic resources are reducing steadily. This is a result of the frequent loss of animals because of a frozen market coupled with climatic and health hazards. Stress is higher in dry seasons when the weather is colder, animals have to queue for water, pasture is scarce resulting in animals becoming emaciated and below market value. Crops in the few irrigated pockets may be killed by frost in the dry *Jilaal* (December - March) spell. There are also recurrent prolonged droughts, which frequently destroy all the communities' efforts. Epidemic animal diseases are sudden shocks, which can reduce people to absolute poverty. The well being of Sanaag's people is subject more to climatic factors (rainfall), livestock markets and health problems.

Economic activity of urban citizens is bound to the well being of rural life. All activities are geared by the physical state of livestock and its market. When the animals are fat with good milk output and the market is active, pressure is reduced from urban relatives and business activity flourishes. The business activities we are talking about are petty trading of food commodities (rice, sugar, wheat-flour and vegetable oils) and other essentials like detergents, soap, clothes (including second hand), medicines and construction materials. Importing and selling *Khat* is another active business although it drains a huge amount of limited family income, which is often generated by the women. *Khat* is the current major cause of tension between clans because armed young men set up roadblocks to steal the commodity from the traders at gunpoint. Gunfights often happen and result in injuries. Livestock, skins and Frankincense are the major exports from Sanaag, but the markets were terribly unreliable.

The majority of groups said people from strong clans or with relatives overseas have better chances to cope with economic and security crises. Neighbours share whatever food is available reciprocally. Some people change their economic activities, such as from a soldier to a charcoal burner or water seller. Migration to urban centres and abroad has increased. Some people changed their diet from expensive rice to cheaper wheat or sorghum – the poor man's food.

Security and other social concerns were related to the Council of Elders led by the clan and sub-clan chiefs. Details of this are in the section on Institutions.

The only feasible change is that regional and district administrations are established in the area, police and judiciary systems are operational though, because of financial constraints, still confined to the towns of Erigavo and El Afweyn. Opportunistic, armed gangs have been cleared out of the towns by putting them in prison after court convictions. These arms of administration answer to the Somaliland government in Hargeisa. If this system is not recognised or nested with other, larger systems the situation could return to the former anarchic state. On the other hand, clans have agreed to live together peacefully and are holding to this agreement since it was signed in 1993 - but it could be disturbed by people with special, alternative interests.

4. PRIORITIES OF THE POOR

Problems listed by the groups are common across the community categories regardless of age, gender or economic status. Problems related to security (not listed in many sites but emphasised during validation), public services (education and human health care), unemployment, water shortage (except Erigavo town which has an efficient water supply) and an unreliable market for the livestock cut across the groups in all the sites. The differences are classified by rural and urban sites below:

Rural Sites

These can be classified into pastoral, which depend upon livestock products only and agro-pastoral, which raise livestock and grow crops either in rain fed fields (e.g. Marawade) or irrigated plots (eg. Bihin and Buq).

The true pastoral people emphasised problems related to:

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • food availability • education • human health care • unemployment • animal health • land degradation (gullies) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • clothes • insecurity • water • shelter • lack of stable income sources • droughts
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Agro-pastoral peoples' list of additional concerns:

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • land degradation • landlessness • pests • poor irrigation channels • lack of hand tools • poor dust roads 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • poor soil fertility • large families • new human health problems • lack of appropriate vegetable seeds • lack of farm inputs • droughts
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Urban Sites

In addition to the problems cutting across the groups, below are the urban concerns:

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • limited economic opportunities • social exclusion • too many children • lack of technical skills to benefit from the scarce chances • no electricity by one group in Elafweyn 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • poor shelter by Erigavo groups • lack of good shoes • disgrace caused by begging • malnutrition • poor dust roads • lack of farm production
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Obviously, many people believe the majority of these concerns were caused by:

- Lack of legitimate central administration to mobilise resources and ensure law and order.
- Isolation of the region from the rest of the country due to the poor roads and communication.

- Unreliable inactive livestock markets.
- Limited economic diversity for the majority of families (only livestock rearing in the rural areas and petty trade on same commodities by all the people).

Poor people are very difficult to identify from the rich because the society is very inter-dependent and shares whatever is available, especially during stress times. However, the problems listed affect almost everybody in the area. For instance, lack of education does not affect the poor specifically. People argued that the poor ask rich relatives to host and educate one or two of their children, usually boys.

There are occasions when everyone in an area can be considered poor regardless of the number of animals in their pens. This is during the prolonged dry season when animals are below market grade and the livestock market is inactive). Epidemics and livestock raiding can also reduce wealthy people to poverty.

Some groups argued that poor people need the items listed below more than others, but this was not convincingly agreed during validation:

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • food • water in the dry time • income sources 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • human health care • clothes • animal drugs
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Almost all the problems, except insecurity, had been known for generations but had increased since formal institutions had collapsed and been compounded by population increase.

People were hoping the security and stability would improve and public services made available. They have little hope in the major factors of poverty (such as reliable markets for local produce and the climatic conditions) being improved. Prolonged droughts coupled with animal health problems keep the people in a miserable condition. Large-scale farm production was not feasible unless climate patterns change or more human effort is invested in big earth dams to catch much more rainwater.

However, groups said they can solve the majority of the problems if major obstacles are addressed:

- Putting in place legitimate governance, which needs concerted efforts.
- Enough water.
- Reliable market for local production.
- Many people believe good roads for land transport and the improvement of natural seaports can increase economic activities of the region. Many people would have come and invested in the different natural resources in the area if this infrastructure was in place. Nowadays, local big businessmen have moved to the other cities with good communication and transportation facilities.

5. INSTITUTIONAL ANALYSIS

As mentioned earlier, peoples' standard of life is not far from one another regardless of age, gender, economic status, rural or urban. However, some institutions cut across all groups or the majority have mentioned. The majority of trusted and effective institutions are informal mostly traditional.

- ❖ Guurti (council of elders): This institution addresses the majority of social disputes, from big inter-clan conflicts to the person-to-person misunderstandings. It plays the role of all the absent government institutions, which were lost more than 10 years ago. It agrees rules and regulations for pasture and water use. It settles murder and injury cases, negotiates with outsiders and any other social issues.

The Guurti has different levels – ranging from the local grazing area to the national level. It is composed of members from all the clans or sub-clans of an area. Guurti members are nominated by their clan constituents. Additional volunteers may be accepted. They serve without payment. The clan, sub-clan chiefs and other influential elders are permanent members of the forum. The criteria for selecting a member to the Guurti include: ability to reach painful decisions, honest, trusted in the constituency, wealthy enough to cover costs, eloquent enough to explain concepts, age, knowledge of Islam and modern science and is married with children. It is said, “He who has no experience of managing a family can not manage a community”.

- ❖ Nabadoon (subclan chief) is the chairman of the Guurti of his constituency. He opens and closes meetings, is the contact person for grievances within the sub-clan, the focal point for outside contacts and organises the collection and receipt of *Mag*. (This is blood compensation and is equivalent to 100 camels of specific qualities, or their equivalent, to compensate for a man's life and half that for a woman's life). A sub-clan or diya paying group is an associated patrilineal family which pays and receives blood compensation together. The post of *Nabadoon* post is inherited by the son or occasionally an elder brother.

- ❖ Wadaado (religious men) have the following responsibilities:

- survey injuries for compensation
- announce marriages and divorces
- the Guurti consults them to reach decisions needing reference to religious laws
- teach Islam
- lead the prayers
- read Koranic verses to sick people and animals

- ❖ Government: The last recognised government collapsed in January 1991 but the majority of Sanaag region lost contact with it in 1988. Public services were shattered, security severely deteriorated and people classified themselves along clan - some of which supported the regime while others were in opposition. The traditional system of governance has filled the gap of managing what was possible in the social services. The role of clan traditional system of governance was undermined by Siad Barre's regime, which saw the sub-clan chiefs as simple spies for the administration.

The Northern parts of Somalia, which includes Sanaag declared independence from the rest of the country in 1991 but has yet to be recognised internationally. It called itself Somaliland and has its capital in Hargeisa. The Somaliland administration has had some influence in Sanaag over the last 2 years. The judiciary and police systems have been operational although confined to the towns of Erigavo and El

Afweyn. The east and southern parts of the region are not yet completely included in Somaliland because some of the clans favour the Puntland administration in north eastern Somalia.

The national and regional administrations are supported by the Guurti and other local institutions.

- ❖ Sitaad (weekly women meetings): The women of every rural community come together at a specific venue (under a tree or someone's house), bring some food to be eaten during the gathering. They may spend the whole day meeting to exchange information, recite Islamic verses and pledge support to the needy among them. Any disputes between women are addressed in this forum. They have some sort of co-ordination system about the venue and what to be brought by each of them.

The Sitaad is not so obvious in towns nowadays although women's groups have their own arrangements of coming together. Women run local NGOs to attract funds from international agencies to address their concerns. Townswomen have a rotational money collection institution, called *Hagbad*. In it, the members agree to pay a specified amount of money into the collection, the total of which is taken in turn by each member.

Urban sites have the following two institutions:

- ❖ Trades: Urban people stated that traders are very important to them because the only economic wheel rotating in the towns is unsystematic petty trade, which is mostly run by women. The majority of large traders have left the region to other locations with better communication and transportation facilities. The traders make loan arrangements based on trust and relationships.
- ❖ Relatives: There is still a strong kinship support system among Sanaag's people. Relatives help the needy with food, medications and other necessities. The major contributors are relatives working overseas notably in the Arabian Gulf, North America and western Europe and remitting cash back home.

Other institutions include:

- ❖ Village headman who co-ordinates the village social activities, organises unusual meetings to solve water, land and other disputes, is the centre point where clan Guurtis of the area share information.
- ❖ Health workers: Rural people said they rarely see health workers in their localities. If some people have been trained for the villages and other main grazing areas by international agencies, they are not now functional. The men elders showed they were better informed than the women and youth groups and mentioned that UNICEF had pledged the provision of essential drugs to rural villages but that can be rarely seen. Urban people mentioned the available health workers are very helpful and support the sick either on a voluntary basis or by charging a reasonable fee. They complained about the absence of qualified doctors, the haphazard operation of Erigavo general hospital due to financial constraints, the lack of a public health centre in El Afweyn town and the poor quality of drugs in private medical shops.
- ❖ Sultan (clan chief) is the highest in the traditional system of governance, solves the bigger issues, which the lower levels could not finalise and chairs grand conferences of the whole clan or between two or more big clans. The sultanate is inherited by an elder son or occasionally by the elder brother.

- ❖ Loan provider - was mentioned by poor women in Daanweyne rural site. Livestock traders bring food grains in the dry spells and agree to collect male sheep and goats when the physical condition of animals improves after the rainy seasons. This was based on trust and relationships.
- ❖ Local NGOs to attract funds into the region. These institutions were not known in Sanaag region before 1992. The people have little trust in these groups because the effectiveness of many of them has been questioned, as they seem to operate more like private contractors than voluntary organisations. They come together and act when they get funds from international agencies and sit back and disperse when the money dries up. However, there were few groups who proved themselves effective but were overshadowed by the majority.
- ❖ Women's groups different from the Sitaad system used to be supported by the previous regime but they were not culturally acceptable and disappeared when the regime collapsed. At Marawade a group of poor women said they have reorganised themselves and set up a system to meet the concerns of the women in that area and solve gender disputes.
- ❖ Harash (open market) where women sell vegetables, milk, meat, foodstuffs and other essentials.
- ❖ International NGOs. Only ActionAid (a British NGO) was mentioned on a number of occasions. The people expressed dissatisfaction with the activities of the majority of international agencies. They stated that they have been pledged this and that many times but little has come forth.
- ❖ Clan. Although it did not appear strongly in the tables the clan was asserted as people's life assurance policy. It had become more important since the central government collapsed. The clan settles compensations in cases of murder and injuries committed by its people. It supports the needy and the displaced. Common resources and expenditures are allocated on the basis of clan and agreements entered.

The four major sub-clans in Sanaag were *Habar Tolje'lo* (HT) and *Habar Yonis* (HY) of Isak clan and *Dhulbahante* and *Warsangeli* of Darod clan. Other smaller clans and sub-clans are also represented in Sanaag.

All groups asserted they have full trust in the different institutions listed because they are selected, accountable and supportive to the community.

In addition to the services stated above for each institution, the following criteria can be commonly applied to describe the institutions' effectiveness:

- Achievements in the areas of responsibilities.
- Honest.
- Patience.
- Justice among the different social groups.
- Transparency and accountability to the community sectors.
- Decision making capabilities.
- Willingness to take advises.
- How fast to respond to the concerned needs.
- How voluntary.
- Kindness to the lower community groups like the minority clans, women and the poor.

The groups asserted they have influence on the majority of institutions. Local and international agencies can be exceptional. They expressed that the wealthy, the intellectuals and clan men elders (Guurti) may have more influence on these institutions than the normal person. Kinship and clan relationship are other criteria of having influence.

The groups stressed they would like to have greater influence on the national administration in Hargeisa, the Somaliland capital or any other national level institution that emerges.

- ❖ Warlords. The worst institutions were the warlords and militiamen behaving as armed gangs who were always after conflicts because it was the only way they knew to earn the living.

Coping with Crisis

All groups in all sites stated that the clan and kinship support systems are the major institutions to cope with economic crisis. Affected families and individuals appeal to their relatives and clansmen for support. Neighbours, regardless of origin, have a system for supporting the needy. Women, unlike men, are especially kind to next-door neighbours. Some people change their income generating strategies, which can include migration or new activities in the area such as charcoal burning or establishing a local NGO to extract Dollars from international agencies.

A statement says, "A problem to certain people is the benefit of others". There are many people who become better off during difficulties (e.g. business people who benefited from the lack of tariffs on imports and exports and other taxation systems since the government collapsed).

In urban centres a drum is beaten to inform the citizens that there is a family or an individual who really needs financial support. This is called *Makdarad* and clans and institutions are invited to respond to it.

ActionAid was mentioned as the only international agency for which people give some honour for establishing the Erigavo water supply, which is the only affordable and reliable source. Since 1992 other ActionAid supported water programmes were undertaken in the rural areas to overcome the chronic water shortage that occurs each dry season. To overcome the shortage of veterinary drugs in the region, ActionAid encouraged the establishment of private veterinary pharmacies and links with traders in other commodities. This trade is functioning but quality control mechanisms need improving.

The regional and district administrations were just emerging struggling to stand on their legs but facing severe financial constraints to be effective.

During common natural calamities like prolonged droughts, which degrade economic capacity, some people change their diet from rice to other cereals like sorghum and wheat. The latter are despised during the favourable times. Other people reduce the number of meals they eat per day from 3 to 1. Relatives in urban centres and overseas are also appealed to for support.

6. GENDER RELATIONS

Because Sanaag is remote and isolated from interaction with other societies, people asserted that the cultural and religious values are well entrenched. The roles, responsibilities and decision-making capacities of men and women in households and in the community are also well defined. Obviously the women have taken up the role of feeding families since the civil strife and collapse of government. The men were accused of being addicted to the narcotic Khat. The cost of one chewing session was averaged at US\$10, which was far higher than the average family income in Sanaag. Urban women generate family income from petty trade in imported and local produce.

Below are lists of the main tasks, responsibilities and decision-making capacities of the woman and the man in the household and in the community:

Men's responsibilities in the household:	Women's responsibilities in the household:
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • general director • provide the bill • water the livestock • buying clothing for family members • decide when and where to move the family • defence • making night enclosures • looking for better locations for the animals (sahamin) • take part burials • digging and cleaning wells/berkeds • milking the camels • training young he-camels for transport • slaughtering and skinning the big animals 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • fulfils the husbands directives • up-bring and washing for the children • cleaning the house and animal pens • supervise the animals by counting them regularly especially in the morning and in the evening • preparing food for the family • processing of the ghee • making housing materials and utensils • helps the mothers during child birth • skinning the slaughtered animal • serving for weddings • treating children traditionally • milking cows and small ruminants • erecting the house

Men's responsibilities in the community:	Women's responsibilities in the community:
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • general security • giving live animals (Nool) to the needy • defend the commune • give animals for diya and dowry • receive diya for the community • solve conflicts in and outside the community • can speak in the meetings 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • support (except live animals) to neighbouring families like food, utensils and other essentials. The reason is that the woman can notice the need of the neighbours before the man.

Men's decisions in the household:	Women's decisions in the household:
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • how much and which animals to be given away as diya and dowry • future of the family 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • what to prepare for each meal excepting killing animal • circumcise daughters

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • marrying his daughters • having another wife • divorcing the wife • killing animal for guests/visitors • giving away the saka • boys circumcision • selling animals 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • preparing food for the guests beyond animal • there were some women with better responsibilities but they were not welcomed in this community
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There were occasional cases of violence reported against women. These were caused when the man (husband, brothers or fathers) misused the family economy, which the woman was managing. Such actions were condemned by the community.

At the community level, there were very strong Xeer (contracts between clans and sub-clans) for the adjudication of violence against women, such as rape or beating. The result being that it such violence was reported very rarely by young boys.

Many people argued that the women had more influence in decision-making in the past when they were backed up by Siad Barre's regime, but this was not accepted by the culture and was thrown away when he was removed from office. At that time women used to attend meetings, especially in urban centres and the rural farming and grazing co-operatives like Bihin and Sufdhere sites. Others argued that women now have more power in the households, which may also indirectly contribute to decisions at community level in the urban areas because they are often the family bread-winners, and instruct the man to say or do what she wants to be done.

Differences between women in the community or between communities were not obvious in all the visited sites in Sanaag region.

ANNEXES

ANNEX 1. Summary Results on Well Being for Togdheer & Sanaag

TABLE 1: Well-being matrices from two discussion sites

Table 1(a): Togdheer (Buroa, Urban site): Categories, criteria and proportions of households according to different groups. These tables includes changes over the last fifteen years

Group composition:

G1 = Old men; G2 = Young men; G3 = Old women; G4 = Young women

Category	Criteria	G 1	HHs	G 2	HHs	G 3	HHs	G 4	HHs
Doing well (<i>Iska ladan</i>)	Have children	1				1		1	
	Have health	1		1				1	
	Have security	1		1				1	
	Have support			1					
	Have respect	1				1			
	Can get credit	1						1	
	Have no worries			1				1	
	Have sustainable income	1		1		1			
	Married	1				1			
Before 1984 %			10		9		12		14
After 1999 %			2		5		4		1
Doing OK (<i>Iska fican</i>)	Can meet his needs			1				1	
	He is community leader					1		1	
	Have a health	1		1		1			
	Have enough livestock			1		1			
	Have shelter	1				1			
	Owns small business	1		1					
	Children go to school	1				1			
	Have support from abroad			1		1		1	
	Have security							1	
Can support others	1		1				1		
No worries	1				1				
Before 1984 %									
After 1999 %									
Poor (<i>Sabool</i>)	Have enough but not capital	1				1		1	
	Have no water or small water	1						1	
	Needs support	1						1	
	Have respect			1				1	
	Have more children	1		1					
	Have no home					1		1	
	Have employment	1		1		1		1	
	Have milk	1		1		1			
	Have skills			1					
	Have no skills					1		1	
	Have no burden camel					1		1	
	No grazing for livestock					1			
	Affords no support to others	1		1					
	Lack of resources			1		1			
Unable to get credit	1								
Before 1984 %			35		33		32		29
After 1999 %			38		42		49		35
Eats irregularly (<i>Qaada-ma-dhergaan</i>)	Eats every other day	1		1					
	Uses his labor					1			
	No help from other	1		1					
	Can not meet his needs					1		1	
	Have not children	1						1	

	No skills	1				1		
	No livestock	1						
	Occasional employment	1					1	
	No education	1		1			1	
	No capital	1		1		1		
	No employment						1	
Before 1984 %			25		30		20	15
After 1999 %			50		5		30	40

Table 1(b): Sanaag (Dagaar, Rural site): Categories, criteria and proportion of households according to the different groups

The groups were asked to explain the livelihood condition of Dagaar community and its catchment and categorise the families from the most well-off level to the poorest. The categories were illustrated on cards using symbols or colours. Pebbles were used to score the proportion of households in each category.

Score out of 60

Category	Old men	Old women	Youth
<i>Iska ladan</i>	7	5	2
<i>Maqadaa ma dhergaan</i>	18	25	30
<i>Barlaawe</i>	35	30	28

The criteria for categorising Dagaar community into different livelihood strata:

Category	Criteria	Old men	Old women	Youth
Doing well (<i>Ladan</i>)	400 adhi (sheep and goats)	1		
	300 adhi		1	1
	20 camels		1	
	30 cattle			1
	10 cattle	1	1	
	Can send children to school	1		1
	Assets in town		1	1
Pulling along (<i>Iska ladan</i>)	200 adhi	1	1	
	150 adhi			1
	20 camels	1		
	10 camels		1	1
	20 cattle		1	1
	Donkeys		1	
	Grazing land	1	1	
Eat irregularly (<i>Maqadaa ma dhergaan</i>)	Children	1	1	
	70 adhi	1		1
	40 adhi		1	
	2 camels	1	1	
	1 camel			1
	5 cows			1
	2 cows	1	1	
No assets	1			

Miserable (<i>Caydh</i>)	40 adhi	1		
	30 adhi		1	1
	2 cows	1		1
	1 cow		1	
	Donkey		1	1
	Dependent	1	1	

TABLE 2: Proportion (%) of households/population in the poorest categories, according to different groups at each of the RURAL SITES

Table 2(a): TOGDHEER (rural)

				Other Groups Specify			Comments
Sites	Men	Women	Youth				
Qoyta	31	43	42				-Poor
Cali Cise	75	90	95				+Poor
Durukhsi	36	33	23				-Poor
Yucub Yabooh	93	90	71				+Poor
Hagayo Malas	72	95	58				+Poor
Ceel bilcile	98	90	90				+Poor

(%) households in the poorest categories

- Poor means minus the Poor Category

+ Poor means plus the Poor category

Table 2(b): SANAAG (rural)

				Other Groups Specify			Comments
Sites	Men	Women	Youth				
Daanweyne	100	52	61				+Poor
Buq	80	56	67				+Poor
Bixin	85	71	67				+Poor
Sufdheere	93	85	83				+Poor
Dagaar	68	69	74				+Poor
Marawade	81	87	77				+Poor

(%) households in the poorest categories

- Poor means minus the Poor Category

+ Poor means plus the Poor category

TABLE 3: Proportion (%) of households/population in the poorest category, according to different groups at each of the URBAN SITES

Table 3(a): TOGDHEER (urban)

				Other Groups Specify			Comments
Sites	Men	Women	Youth				
Yirowe	75	76	84				+Poor
Buroa	78	81	85				+Poor

(%) households in the poorest categories

- Poor means minus the Poor Category

+ Poor means plus the Poor category

Table 3(b): SANAAG (urban)

				Other Groups Specify			Comments
Sites	Men	Women	Youth				
Erigavo	98	93	94				+Poor
El-Afweyn	88	83	79				+Poor

(%) households in the poorest categories
 - Poor means minus the Poor Category
 + Poor means plus the Poor category

Table 4: Major trends in poverty and well being

Table 4(a): TOGDHEER

Trends	Rural	Urban
Increased Poverty	Yes	Yes
Minor increase in poverty		
No change		
Increased well-being		

Table 4(b): SANAAG

Trends	Rural	Urban
Increased Poverty	Yes	Yes
Minor increase in poverty		
No change		
Increased well-being		

Table 5: People's perception of main causes of poverty – RURAL and URBAN SITES

Table 5(a): TOGDHEER (1 = yes)

Main causes of poverty	Rural	Urban
Armed conflict	1	1
Collapse of government		1
Desertification/Soil erosion	1	
Drought/failure of rains	1	1
Lack of education		1
Unemployment		1
Ignorance	1	
Livestock export ban	1	1
Lack of investment	1	1
Government mismanagement	1	1
Animal pests (Incl. Predators)	1	
Chewing "Khat"	1	1

Table 5(b): SANAAG

Main causes of poverty	Rural	Urban
The civil war	1	1
Droughts	1	
Absence of central administration	1	1
New human and animal health problems	1	
Limited economic diversity for the households	1	1

The absence of reliable markets for the produce	1	1
Rangeland privatisation	1	
Population increase	1	
Water shortage	1	1
Unemployment	1	1
Chewing <i>Khat</i>		1
Illiteracy	1	1
Poor shelter	1	1
Limited education opportunities	1	1
Poor human health services	1	1
Insecurity	1	1
Animal diseases	1	
Displacements	1	1
Lack of cultivation	1	1
Resources raided	1	
Lack of adaptation in the new ecologies	1	
Lack of stable income for households	1	1
Lack of social co-operation	1	1
Bad government administration	1	
Animal disease epidemics	1	
Transportation and communication problems	1	
Land degradation	1	
Heavy floods	1	
Plant pests	1	
Psychological problems		1
Clanism	1	1

Table 6: People’s perception of main causes of poverty – Groups of men and women, and other poverty groups in sample

Table 6(a): TOGDHEER (1 = yes)

Main causes of poverty	Men	Women	Other (Specify)	Other (Specify)
			Young men	Young women
Armed conflict	1	1	1	1
Collapse of government		1		1
Desertification/Soil erosion	1	1	1	
Drought/ Failure of rains	1	1	1	1
Lack of education			1	1
Unemployment	1		1	1
Ignorance	1	1		1
Livestock export ban	1	1	1	
Lack of investment	1	1		
Government mismanagement	1		1	
Animal pests (incl. Predators)		1		
Kat" (a mild narcotic)	1	1		1

Table 6(b): SANAAG

Main causes of poverty	Men	Women	Youth
The civil war	1	1	1
Droughts	1	1	
Absence of central administration	1	1	1
New human and animal health problems		1	
Limited economic diversity for the households			1
The absence of reliable markets for the produce	1	1	1
Rangeland privatisation	1	1	
Population increase	1		
Water shortage		1	1
Unemployment	1	1	1
Chewing <i>Khat</i>		1	
Illiteracy	1	1	1
Poor shelter		1	1
Limited education opportunities	1	1	1
Poor human health services	1	1	1
Insecurity	1	1	1
Animal diseases		1	
Displacements	1	1	
Lack of cultivation		1	1
Resources raided	1	1	
Lack of adaptation in the new ecology		1	
Lack of stable income for households	1	1	1
Lack of social co-operation	1	1	
Bad government administration	1		1
Animal disease epidemics		1	1

Transportation and communication problems	1	1	1
Land degradation	1	1	
Heavy floods	1	1	1
Plant pests	1		1
Psychological problems			1
Clanism	1		1

ANNEX II. SUMMARY RESULTS ON PRIORITIES OF THE POOR

Table 1: Ranking of major problems by poor groups by RURAL SITES

Table 1(a): TOGDHEER (rural)

Problems	Site 1 = Qoyta		Site 2 = Cali Cise		Site 3 = Duruksi		Site 4 = Yucub Yabooh		Site 5 = Haqayo Malas		Site 6 = Ceel Bilcile	
	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W
Water	1	2	1	1	1	2	2	1	2	3	1	1
Human health	4	3	3	2	2	1	4	2	-	-	2	2
Education	5	6	-	-	6	4	5	3	5	5	6	4
Soil erosion			-	-	4	3	3	4			4	3
Animal pest	6	5	8	-	7	8		7			5	5
Transport			5		9	7	6					
Desertification	2	1	2	3	-	-	-	-				
Security	3	4	-	4	3	5	4	5				
Lack of investment	8	7	4	-	5	-	7	6	3	4		
Lack of skill					10	6	1	-	6	2		
Shelter			-	5	-	9	-	-				
Land mines			6				9	8			3	(2)
Government	7	8	7	6	-	10	10	9				
Food shortage									1	1	(3)	(3)
Lack of employment									4	6	(4)	(4)
Infrastructure										7		
Range degradation							12	10				
Ignorance	5	6	-	-			-	11			(4)	(5)

Table 1(b): SANAAG (rural)

SITE = DAANWEYNE													
		GP 1		GP 2		GP 3		GP 4		GP 5		GP 6	
		'99	'84	'99	'84	'99	'84	'99	'84	'99	'84	'99	'84
1	SHORTAGE OF FOOD	15	10			9	1	10	5			10	
2	LACK OF CLOTHING	3	1			7	3					9	1
3	LACK OF HUMAN MEDICINE	10	8	7	6	8	2	10	8	12	10	8	2
4	LACK OF WATER	20	35	15	19			25	30	14	20		
5	LACK ANIMAL DRUGS	5	5					5	10				
6	LACK EDUCATION OPPORTUNITIES	4	1	8	8	8	2	10	7	14	10	1	9
7	ABSENCE OF ADMINISTRATION	3		7	5	7	3						
8	POOR COMMUNICATION			2	6								
9	LIMITED ECON OPPORTUNITIES			10	8					10	10		
10	INSECURITY			11	8								
11	UNEMPLOYMENT									10	10		
12	POOR SHELTER											7	3

SITE = BUQ							
		GP 1		GP 2		GP 3	
		'99	'84	'99	'84	'99	'84
1	LACK OF HUMAN MEDICINE			4	3		
2	LACK OF WATER					1	2
3	LACK EDUCATION OPPORTUNITIES			1	2		
4	GULLIES	2	1				
5	POOR SOIL FERTILITY	5	3				
6	PESTS	4	5				
7	NEW HUMAN HEALTH PROBLEMS	1	4			5	6
8	LANDLESSNESS			3	1		
9	SMALL HERD ANIMALS			2	5		
10	LARGE FAMILY			5	4		
11	SOIL EROSION	3	2			3	1
12	POOR IRRIGATION CHANNELS					2	5
13	LACK OF SEEDS					4	5
14	NO HAND TOOLS					6	4

SITE = BIHIN							
		GP 1		GP 2		GP 3	
		'99	'84	'99	'84	'99	'84
1	SHORTAGE OF FOOD				4		
2	LACK OF CLOTHING			6	3		
3	LACK OF HUMAN MEDICINE	11	4	12	10		
4	LACK OF WATER	8	8				
5	LACK EDUCATION OPPORTUNITIES	14	3	13	8	20	25
6	ABSENCE OF ADMINISTRATION					15	13
7	UNEMPLOYMENT	3	3			10	8

8	POOR IRRIGATION CHANNELS			26	40		
9	NO HAND TOOLS			8	9		
10	POOR DUST ROADS	9	9	7	5		
11	LACK LIVESTOCK MARKET	28	5	10	0	25	24
12	LACK OF INCOME	9	4				
13	LACK FARM INPUTS			15	21	18	23
14	DISPLACEMENT					7	6
15	DROUGHTS					5	5

SITE = SUFDHERE		GP 1		GP 2		GP 3	
		'99	'84	'99	'84	'99	'84
1	SHORTAGE OF FOOD	4	8	2	4	2	9
2	LACK OF CLOTHING	7	9	6	8	3	8
3	LACK OF HUMAN MEDICINE	2	11	6	10	5	5
4	LACK OF WATER	4	1			4	3
5	LACK EDUCATION OPPORTUNITIES	6	10	5	9	1	2
6	UNEMPLOYMENT			3	5	6	4
7	GULLIES	2	4				
8	SOIL EROSION	1	3				
9	LACK OF SEEDS			8	6	9	7
10	LACK LIVESTOCK MARKET	6	12	1	3	7	6
11	TICK PROBLEMS	3	5	4	2		
12	TREE DEPLETION	3	2				
13	SIDE EFFECT – DIPS	5	6			8	1
14	LIVESTOCK DISEASE	4	7	7	1		

SITE = DAGAAR		GP 1		GP 2		GP 3	
		'99	'84	'99	'84	'99	'84
1	LACK OF HUMAN MEDICINE	3	2	3	4	4	4
2	LACK OF WATER	6	1	8	3	3	3
3	LACK EDUCATION OPPORTUNITIES	4	7	4	3	2	2
4	INSECURITY			5	2		
5	UNEMPLOYMENT	2	4	7	6		
6	POOR SHELTER	3	6				
7	POOR DUST ROADS					5	1
8	LACK LIVESTOCK MARKET	7	3	1	1		
9	LACK OF INCOME	1	5	2	5	1	5
10	DROUGHTS			6	7		

SITE = MARAWADE		GP 1		GP 2		GP 3		GP 4		GP 5		GP 6	
		'99	'84	'99	'84	'99	'84	'99	'84	'99	'84	'99	'84
1	SHORTAGE OF FOOD	5	3					23	10	9	7	9	7
2	LACK OF CLOTHING									12	20	13	7

3	LACK OF HUMAN MEDICINE	11	8	10	8	15	14	5	4	13	12	3	14
4	LACK OF WATER	8	14	15	10	5	19	5	8				
5	LACK ANIMAL DRUGS	10	6					4	15				
6	LACK EDUCATION OPPORTUNITIES	12	9	9	9	13	14	2	2	15	15	15	15
7	INSECURITY	4	6	7	10	8	4						
8	UNEMPLOYMENT											15	10
9	POOR SHELTER	4	3							11	6	4	9
10	LACK OF SEEDS							3	2				
11	NO HAND TOOLS			7	8			3	2				
12	POOR DUST ROADS	4	3	2	2								
13	LACK OF INCOME			10	8	7	6	5	13				
14	DROUGHTS	3	9										
15	MALNUTRITION					10	2						
16	NO TECHNICAL SKILLS			4	9								

Table 2: Ranking of major problems by poor groups by URBAN SITE

Table 2(a): TOGDHEER (urban)

Problems	Site 1 = Yirowe		Site 2 = Buroa	
	M	W	M	W
Water	3	2	3	3
Human health	2	1	2	2
Education	7	6	4	5
Security	5	4	5	4
Lack of investment	6	5	1	1
Lack of skill	8	7		
Shelter	4	3	9	9
Land mines			6	7
Government	9	8	7	6
Food shortage				
Lack of employment	1	3	8	8

Table 2(b): SANAAG (urban)

SITE = ERIGAVO TOWN							
	PROBLEMS	GP 1		GP 2		GP 3	
		'99	'84	'99	'84	'99	'84
1	UNEMPLOYMENT	8	6	20	16	15	10
2	SOCIAL EXCLUSION	10	17	5	12	8	14
3	NO ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES	9	8	13	15	9	7
4	NO HEALTH CARE	8	6	21	13	14	13
5	NO EDUCATION OPPORTUNITIES	9	8	15	13	20	15
6	NO SHELTER	7	10	6	16	4	13
7	NO SHOES	9	7	7	4		
8	TOO MANY CHILDREN	10	10	8	3		
9	NO SKILLS	13	4			8	6
10	DISGRACE	12	14			4	2
11	NO CLOTHING					8	7
12	NO SUPPORT	2	1				
13	MALNUTRITION	5	4				
14	BEGGING					12	10
15	NO SELF CONFIDENCE					8	3

SITE = EL AFWEYNE TOWN							
	PROBLEMS	GP 1		GP 2		GP 3	
		'99	'84	'99	'84	'99	'84
1	LACK DRINKABLE WATER (HUMAN)	1	6	1	7	1	8
2	LACK HUMAN HEALTH SERVICE	7	2	2	6	3	7
3	POOR DUST ROADS	5	4	5	5	7	5
4	UNEMPLOYMENT	3	3	3	3	5	8
5	LACK LIVESTOCK MARKET	6	10	4	9	4	10
6	LACK EDUCATION OPORTUNITIES	7	8	7	8	6	3

7	LACK FARM PRODUCTS			5	9	8	4
8	NO LEGITIMATE ADMINISTRATION						
9	NO ELECTRICITY	8	7				

ANNEX III. SUMMARY RESULTS of INSTITUTIONAL ANALYSIS

Table 1: Ranking of institutions according to importance by groups of poor men and women at RURAL SITES

Table 1(a): TOGDHEER (rural)

Main causes of poverty	Site 1 = Qoyta		Site 2= Cali Cise		Site 3= Duruksi		Site 4= Yucub YabooH		Site 5= Haqayo Malas		Site 6= Ceel Bilcile	
	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W
Elders' council	1	2	1	3	1	1	2	2	1	2	2	1
Religious leaders	3	4	3	4	3	3	3	6	5	4	5	
Kinship support	2	3	2	1	2	2	1	1	2	1	1	2
Government	6	8	4	2	6	5	7				4	4
Credit associations	4	1						3	6	3		3
Village Headman	5	7	7	5	7	8			7			
N.G.O.'s	7	5						4		5		6
Business network							6				7	
Worker associations												
Marriage (in-laws)			6	7	5	7	4		3	6	6	
Overseas remittance									4		3	5
Private doctors						6						
Women support Network		6						5		7		7
Youth association			5	6	4	7	5					

Table 1(a): SANAAG (rural)

SITE = DAANWEYNE							
		GP 1	GP 2	GP 3	GP 4	GP 5	GP 6
	INSTITUTIONS	'99	'99	'99	'99	'99	'99
1	GUURTI	1	1	2	1		1
2	NABADOONO	2	3	3	2	3	2
3	WADAAD (RELIGIOUS MEN)	3	2	5	3	5	3
4	DUQ TUULA	4					
5	MAHAKAMAD (COURT)	5	5	4	6	5	
6	POLICE	6	6		7	4	4
7	DHAKTAR & HOSPITAL	7			4		
8	GARAD/SULTAN		4	1		2	7
9	AMA AH BIHIYE		7				
10	GOVERNMENT				5	1	6
HARASH = OPEN MARKET							
GUURTI = COUNCIL OF ELDERS							
WADAAD = RELIGIOUS MEN							
SITAAD = WOMEN'S WEEKLY CONGREGATION							
DUQ TUULA = VILLAGE HEAD MEN							

NABADOONO = SUB CLAN CHIEFS
MAHAKAMAD = STATE COURT
DHAKTAR = HEALTH PROVIDER
AMAAH BIHIYE = LOAN PROVIDER

SITE = BUQ							
		GP 1		GP 2		GP 3	
	INSTITUTIONS	'99	'84	'99	'84	'99	'84
1	GUURTI	3	4	10	5	25	15
2	NABADOONO	1	2	15	2		
3	WADAAD (RELIGIOUS MEN)	4	3	9	8	6	4
4	GOVERNMENT	2	1	11	15	14	27
5	SITAAD	5	5	5	10	15	14

SITES =		BIHIN			SOFDHERE		
		GP 1	GP 2	GP 3	GP 1	GP 2	GP 3
	INSTITUTIONS	'99	'99	'99	'99	'99	'99
1	GUURTI	2	3	2	1	1	1
2	WADAAD (RELIGIOUS MEN)	4	8	3	4		3
3	POLICE	5					
4	DHAKTAR & HOSPITAL	7			3		4
5	GOVERNMENT	3		6	2	7	2
6	SITAAD					3	
7	TRADERS			5	6	5	
8	RELATIVES OVERSEAS	6					
9	WOMEN'S GROUPS					4	
10	LOCAL NGOs						5
11	CLAN	1		7	5		
12	CHARCOAL DEALERS		6				
13	CO-OPERATIVES	8	2	4			
14	FRANKINSENCE GRP	9					
15	ACTIONAID & CBO		4				
16	ARTISANS		5			4	6
17	HERDERS GROUPS		7				
18	NEIGHBOURS	10					
19	FARMERS GROUPS		1	1			
20	TBA's					2	

SITE = DAGAR							
		GP 1		GP 2		GP 3	
	INSTITUTIONS	'99	'84	'99	'84	'99	'84
1	GUURTI	1	6	1	5	1	3

2	NABADOONO	2	2	6	6	2	5
3	WADAAD (RELIGIOUS MEN)	4	5	4	3	5	1
4	DUQ TUULA	5	3	5	4	4	2
5	GOVERNMENT	3	1	2	1	3	1
6	SITAAD	6	4	3	2	6	6

SITE = MARAWADE							
		GP 1	GP 2	GP 3	GP 4	GP 5	GP 6
	INSTITUTIONS	'99	'99	'99	'99	'99	'99
1	GUURTI	4			1	1	1
2	NABADOONO	3	3	3	4	2	2
3	WADAAD (RELIGIOUS MEN)	1	8	5	6	6	6
4	MAHAKAMAD (COURT)		6		3	7	4
5	POLICE	5	5	4	2	5	3
6	DHAKTAR & HOSPITAL	2			7		
7	GARAD/SULTAN		4	2		3	
8	GOVERNMENT	7	2	1	5	4	5
9	RELATIVES OVERSEAS	6	1				
10	WOMEN'S GROUPS		7				

GROUP 1 = MEN (POOR)							
		ST 1	ST 2	ST 3	ST 4	ST 5	ST 6
	INSTITUTIONS	'99	'99	'99	'99	'99	'99
1	GUURTI	1	3	2	1	1	4
2	NABADOONO	2	1			2	3
3	WADAAD (RELIGIOUS MEN)	3	4	4	4	4	1
4	DUQ TUULA	4				5	
5	MAHAKAMAD (COURT)	5					
6	POLICE	6		5			5
7	DHAKTAR & HOSPITAL	7		7	3		2
8	GOVERNMENT		2	3	2	3	7
9	SITAAD		5			6	
10	TRADERS				6		
11	RELATIVES OVERSEAS			6			6
12	CLAN			1	5		
13	CO-OPERATIVES			8			
14	FRANKINSENCE GRP			9			
15	NEIGHBOURS			10			

GROUP 2 = WOMEN (POOR)							
		ST 1	ST 2	ST 3	ST 4	ST 5	ST 6
	INSTITUTIONS	'99	'99	'99	'99	'99	'99
1	GUURTI	1	10	3	1	1	
2	NABADOONO	3	15			6	3

3	WADAAD (RELIGIOUS MEN)	2	9	8		4	8
4	DUQ TUULA					5	
5	MAHAKAMAD (COURT)	5					6
6	POLICE	6					5
7	GARAD/SULTAN	4					4
8	AMAAH BIHIYE	7					
9	GOVERNMENT		11		7	2	2
10	SITAAD		5		3	3	
11	TRADERS				5		
12	RELATIVES OVERSEAS						1
13	WOMEN'S GROUPS				4		7
14	CHARCOAL DEALERS			6			
15	CO-OPERATIVES			2			
16	ACTIONAID & CBO			4			
17	ARTISANS			5	4		
18	HERDERS GROUPS			7			
19	FARMERS GROUPS			1			
20	TBA's				2		

GROUP 3 = YOUNG MEN (POOR)							
		ST 1	ST 2	ST 3	ST 4	ST 5	ST 6
	INSTITUTIONS	'99	'99	'99	'99	'99	'99
1	GUURTI	2	25	2	1	1	
2	NABADOONO	3				2	3
3	WADAAD (RELIGIOUS MEN)	5	6	3	3	5	5
4	DUQ TUULA					4	
5	MAHAKAMAD (COURT)	4					
6	POLICE						4
7	DHAKTAR & HOSPITAL				4		
8	GARAD/SULTAN	1					2
9	GOVERNMENT		14	6	2	3	1
10	SITAAD		15			6	
11	TRADERS			5			
12	LOCAL NGOs				5		
13	CLAN			7			
14	CO-OPERATIVES			4			
15	ARTISANS				6		
16	FARMERS GROUPS			1			

B-O = Better-off

		GROUP 4		GROUP 5		GROUP 6	
		B-O MEN		B-O WOMEN		B-O Young Men	
		ST 1	ST 6	ST 1	ST 6	ST 1	ST 6
	INSTITUTIONS	'99	'99	'99	'99	'99	'99
1	GUURTI	1	1		1	1	1
2	NABADOONO	2	4	3	2	2	2

3	WADAAD (RELIGIOUS MEN)	3	6		5	6		3	6
4	MAHAKAMAD (COURT)	6	3		5	7			4
5	POLICE	7	2		4	5		4	3
6	DHAKTAR & HOSPITAL	4	7						
7	GARAD/SULTAN				2	3		7	
8	GOVERNMENT	5	5		1	4		6	5

Table 2: Ranking of institutions according to importance by groups of poor men and women URBAN SITES

Table 2(a): TOGDHEER (urban)

Institutions	Site 1= Yirowe		Site 2= Buroa	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Elders' Council	1	3	2	2
Religious leaders	7	8		
Kinship support	2	1	1	1
Government	9	9		
Credit associations	4	2	6	3
N.G.O.'s	6	4	7	4
Business network	3	5	3	
Marriage (in-laws)			4	5
Overseas remittance	5	6	5	6
Private doctors	8	10	8	8
Women support Network		7		7

Table 2(b): SANAAG (urban)

SITE = ERIGAVO TOWN				
		GP 1	GP 2	GP 3
	INSTITUTIONS	'99	'99	'99
1	GUURTI	3	1	3
2	NABADOONO	2	3	2
3	WADAAD (RELIGIOUS MEN)	10		4
4	MAHAKAMAD (COURT)	6	5	4
5	POLICE	5	4	5
6	DHAKTAR & HOSPITAL	7	10	
7	GARAD/SULTAN	1	2	1
8	GOVERNMENT	4		
9	TRADERS	8	6	
10	RELATIVES OVERSEAS	9	9	6
11	INT'L NGOs	11	8	
12	WOMEN'S GROUPS			7
13	HARASH		7	
14	LOCAL NGOs			8

SITE = EL AFWEYNE TOWN				
		GP 1	GP 2	GP 3
	INSTITUTIONS	'99	'99	'99
1	GUURTI	1	2	1
2	WADAAD (RELIGIOUS MEN)	7	3	7
3	GOVERNMENT	6	4	3
4	TRADERS	4	5	6
5	RELATIVES OVERSEAS	5		4

6	WOMEN'S GROUPS		6	
7	LOCAL NGOs		7	
8	BUTCHERS	2	8	5
9	CLAN	3	1	2
10	CONSTRUCTION GROUPS	8		
11	CHARCOAL DEALERS	9		
12	WATER DEALERS	10		